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THE
WORKS
OF
M. DE VOLTAIRE.

Translated from the FRENCH.

WITH
NOTES, HISTORICAL, CRITICAL,
AND EXPLANATORY.

By T. FRANKLIN, D.D.
Chaplain to his Majesty, and late Greek Professor in
the University of Cambridge.

T. SMOLLETT, M.D.
AND OTHERS.

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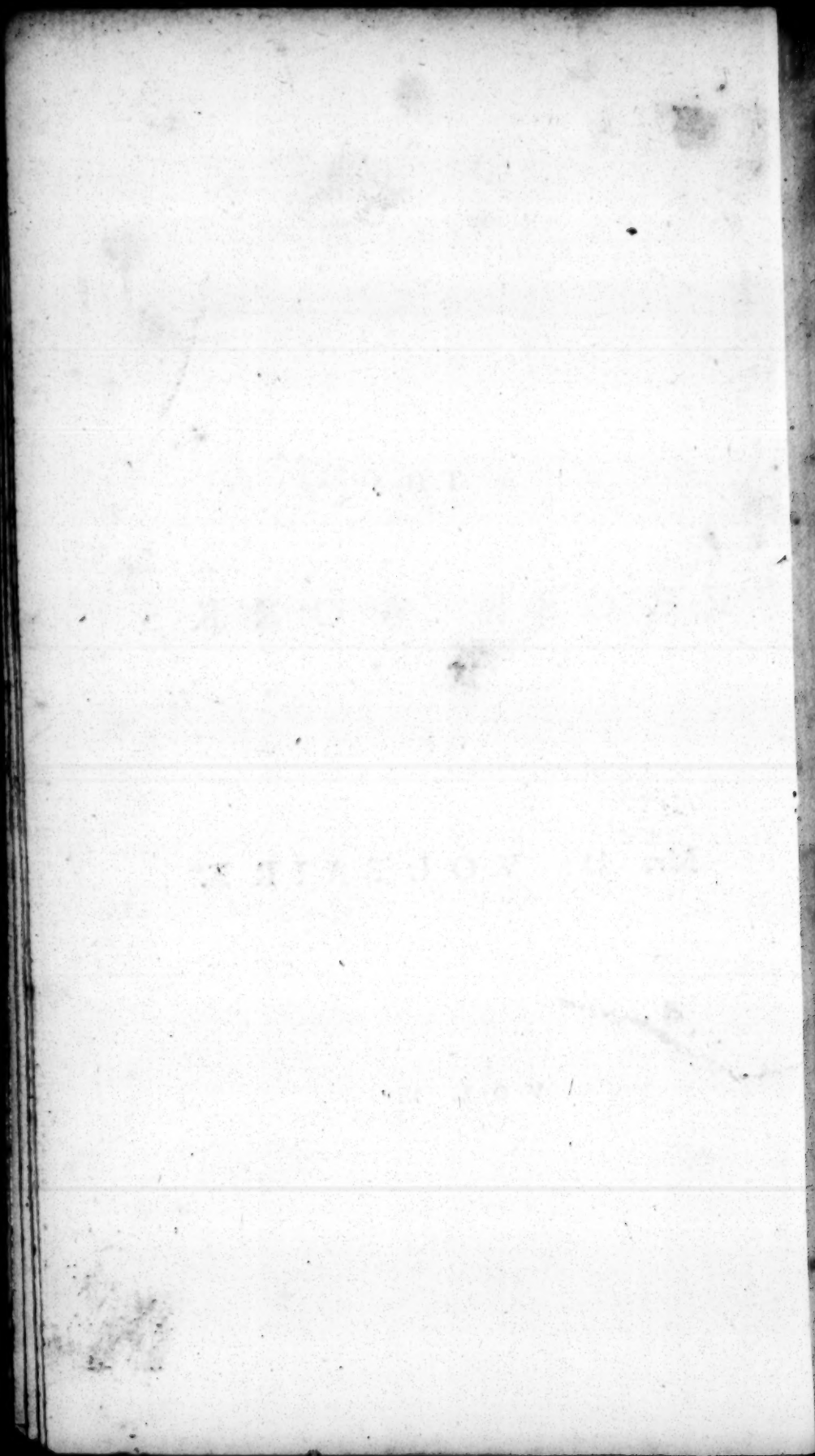
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THE
PROSE WORKS
OF
Mr. DE VOLTAIRE.

VOL. XIV.



THE
CONTENTS
OF THE
FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

PART I.

CHAP. I.

*Of the situation of the affairs of Europe, and a
brief review of matters antecedent the war of
1741.* I

CHAP. II.

*The emperor Charles the Sixth dies : four powers
dispute for the succession. The queen of Hungary
acknowledged in her hereditary dominions. Silesia
seized upon by the king of Prussia.* 33

CHAP. III.

*The king of France unites with the kings of Prussia
and Poland to advance Charles Albert, elector of
Bavaria, to the imperial throne : that prince is
declared a lieutenant-general in the service of
France : his election, his success, and very rapid
losses.* 43

CHAP.

CONTENTS.

CHAP IV.

The relation of the emperor Charles VIIth's misfortunes continued. The battle of Sabay. The French are forsaken by the Prussians, and afterwards by the Saxons. Marshal Maillebois' army make a fruitless march into Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle preserves the army at Prague.

59

CHAP V.

The state of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs between England and Spain. Commercial interests. What share Italy took in the troubles which arose after the death of Charles VI. The share taken therein by Holland. Death of cardinal Fleury.

89

CHAP. VI.

Unhappy situation of the emperor Charles VII. Loss of the battle of Dettingen. The army of France, which was sent to assist the emperor in Bavaria, abandons his cause.

118

CHAP. VII.

The emperor Charles VII. undergoes fresh disgraces. A new treaty among his enemies. Lewis XV. supports, at one and the same time, the Emperor, the Infant Don Philip of Spain, and Prince Charles Edward, who attempts to ascend the throne of his ancestors in England. The battle of Toulon.

130

PART

CONTENTS.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

*The prince of Conti forces the passage of the Alps.
Situation of affairs in Italy.* 155

CHAP. II.

*First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders : his
successes : he leaves Flanders to fly to the defence
of Alsace, invaded by the Austrians, whilst the
prince of Conti continues to force a passage through
the Alps. New alliances. The king of Prussia
once more takes up arms.* 161

CHAP. III.

*The king's illness. His life in danger. As soon
as he recovers, he marches into Germany. He lays
siege to Friburg, while the Austrian army, that
had penetrated into Alsace, marches back to the
relief of Bohemia ; and the prince of Conti gains
a battle in Italy.* 178

CHAP. IV.

*The siege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in
Germany and Italy.* 188

CHAP. V.

*The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in
favour of Maria Teresa, against whom he had
joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are
more*

CONTENTS.

*more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of
Naples surprised at Velletri, in the neighbour-
hood of Rome.* 192

CHAP. VI.

*Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war be-
comes more violent than ever.* 199

CHAP. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy. 213

SUPPLEMENT. 250

THE

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WAR of 1741.

CHAP. I.

*Of the situation of the affairs of Europe, and a
brief review of matters anteceding the war of
1741.*

I HAVE always looked upon the Christian powers of Europe as one great republic, all whose parts correspond with each other, even when they aim at their mutual destruction. Certain customs, which we call the laws of war, laws unknown to other nations, have been established by general consent. The precedency of almost all princes has been settled; the Catholics have two cities in common; one of these is Malta, the center of a perpetual war waged against the enemies of the Christian name; the other is Rome, which is in more respects than one, as it were, the capital of all the Catholic nations, each of which has a right

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to

to name one of the sovereign's principal ministers ; and their ecclesiastical, and even temporal causes, are tried by the tribunal of the Rota, the judges composing which are taken from each nation. The sovereigns, in all the Catholic frontiers, have some territories that are under the jurisdiction of a foreign bishop. Nothing is more common than to see the prerogatives, honours, and orders of knighthood of one country conferred upon the natives of another. Most princes have even territories lying in the middle of other states ; as for example, the pope is possessed of Avignon in France, and of Benevento in the kingdom of Naples ; the Venetians have dominions in the heart of the Milanese. There is scarcely a prince in Germany but has some dominions inclosed by the territory of another sovereign.

The old Roman law is in some force in all these countries : they have all one and the same learned language ; and every court speaks the same living tongue *. These connections have still been strengthened by commerce. The merchants carry on so close a correspondence, even in time of war, that at the very time in which the English were arming to ruin the Spaniards, they were deeply interested in the trade of that nation ; so that when their privateers seized upon an enemy's ship, they were absolutely plundering their own countrymen †. In effect, the wars waged against each other

* Namely, the French, which is spoken in every court of Europe, but our own.

† This remark can allude only to our insuring the ships of the enemy : a practice which, though prejudicial to the insurer, has been proved beneficial to the community.

by Christian princes have in them so much of the nature of civil wars, that in the year 1701, Victor, duke of Savoy, was in arms against his two sons-in-law: the prince of Vaudemont commanded the Spaniards in the Milanese, and was near being made prisoner by his own son, who had followed the fortune of the house of Austria.

In the year 1718, when the duke of Orleans, regent of France, carried on a war against his cousin Philip V. of Spain, the duke of Lyria served against his father the duke of Berwick. In the war, the history of which I now write, the kings of France, Spain, Poland, and the elector of Bavaria, were the nearest akin to the queen of Hungary, whom they attacked; and upon that very tie of relationship, the last of these princes set up a claim to plunder her. We have seen, in the course of this war, Francis, great Duke of Tuscany, and now emperor of Germany, keep an envoy at Paris, whose children served against him; and we have seen all the sons of the Tuscan prime minister in our service. We had a thousand examples of this kind before our eyes, and yet they did not surprize us.

All the sovereigns of the different states of this part of the world are allied either by blood or by treaty; and yet they scarcely conclude a marriage or a treaty that is not the cause of some future disagreement.

Commerce, whereby they are necessarily linked, is almost always the occasion of their dissenting. The two subjects whereon to ground a war, are every where else unknown: a wife is known, no where but in Europe, to

4 The HISTORY of

bring to her husband a war for her dower, by setting up a right to some distant province. No act of confraternity is known among princes; nor a reversion from one family to another no way related to it; nor yet small fiefs paying homage at the same time to several great princes, who are disputing about the homage and fief itself among one another, as it happens so often in Germany and Italy. Hence it arises that Asia is almost always in a pacific state *, if we except the invasions of conquerors, who are in that part of the world yet more cruel than in Europe, and the unavoidable quarrels, more especially among the Turks and Persians, about frontiers.

Those who accurately and nicely examine into the capital events of this world, will easily remark, that since the year 1600, there have been forty considerable wars in Europe, and but one of any consequence in Great Tartary, China, and the Indies, countries of immense extent, better peopled, and much richer. In a word, there has been no war on account of trade in Asia, Africa, or America, but what has been kindled by the Europeans †.

The marriage of Maximilian I. afterwards emperor of Germany, with Mary of Burgundy, had been for three ages the occasion of a per-

* Witness the civil dissensions in Persia and India, by which the finest provinces in the world are reduced to ruin and desolation.

† Here the author is mistaken, as appears by the numberless wars carried on by the Incas of Peru, the emperors of Mexico, and the divers savage nations of America and Africa, long before Christian colonies were established in those countries,

petual difference between France and Austria. The American and Asiatic trade was afterwards fresh ground of discord in Europe. The system of the balance of power in Europe, which is at present the cause and pretext of so many leagues and wars, first made its appearance during the disputes between Charles V. and Francis I.

Henry VIII. king of England, who seeing himself between two potent rivals, laboured to prevent each from acquiring a superiority, took for his device an archer, with his bow bent, and this motto, "Whom I defend shall be master;" but if Henry held the balance, it was with an unsteady hand.

Henry IV. of France, oppressed by the house of Austria, was constantly aided by Queen Elizabeth, and the states of Holland owed their liberty to the protection of these two princes. So long as these three powers dreaded the superiority of the house of Austria, England and Holland continued to be constant allies to France. If this union was now and then weakened, it was never totally destroyed, their real interests being so very apparent.

The protestant states of Germany were also the natural friends of France, because, that ever since the time of Charles V. they had reason to fear the house of Austria might make a patrimony of the empire, and consequently oppress them. The Swedes were invited into Germany by them, by France, nay even by Rome itself, which stood in awe of the imperial authority, always disputed, and always prevailing in Italy. About the middle of the last century, England and Holland with pleasure

6 The HISTORY of

sure beheld the imperial branch of the house of Austria obliged to give up Lusatia to the electors of Saxony, the prefecture of Alsatia to France *, and Roussillon taken by force of arms from the Spanish branch of that house by Lewis XIII.

Cromwell the Usurper did not oppose this alliance; for he remained firm to the French interest †, though he had murdered Lewis the Thirteenth's brother-in-law, and Lewis the Great's uncle. Every body almost wished France success against the Austrians, until Lewis XIV. became formidable from his conquests, which he owed to his having chosen the greatest generals and most able ministers of his time, as well as to the weakness of his enemies.

In 1667, he deprived the house of Austria of one half of Flanders, and of Franche-Comté the following year. It was now that the Dutch, becoming of some consequence from their courage in war, and their industry in trade, no longer dreaded their old masters the Austrians, and began to entertain some fears of their ancient protectors the French. They compelled Lewis XIV. by dint of their negotiations, to

* By the treaty of Munster.

† This union was the greatest political flaw in the conduct of Cromwell; for, at this period, the power of France was beginning to grow very formidable, and that of Austria to decline. Cromwell's preferring the French to the Spanish interest, is said to have been owing to the particular regard and veneration which he had conceived for the person and character of Charles Gustavus king of Sweden, who was the fast friend of France. Perhaps he was also influenced by the adulation of cardinal Mazarin, who cultivated his good-will with the most prostrate servility.

accede to the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, and boasted of their success.

This was the first occasion of that monarch's sudden invasion of Holland in 1672, in which project he easily induced Charles II. king of England, to concur; who not only wanted money, but had also some grounds of complaint against Holland. He preferred the chastisement of the Dutch to the conquest of Flanders, which he might perhaps have kept, as he had some claims upon that territory; but England and Holland were soon after reunited, and ever since always opposed the French interest. The glory and power of Lewis XIV. increased, and so in proportion did the number of his enemies.

The same system of the balance of power, so long opposed against the Austrians, was now turned against the French. Ever since 1689, William III. king of England, and stadtholder of Holland, had been the soul of a party which conjured up against France, Spain, Germany, England, Holland, and Savoy; nay even pope Innocent XI. Lewis the Great supported himself against all these enemies. He had, for a good while past, near 400,000 men in arms, and upwards of 100 ships of the line; of which, when he came to the throne, he had only six; and though his marine received such a violent shock in the affair of La Hogue *, and the India company, which had been established by the celebrated Colbert, was destroyed; yet he made a peace at Ryswick, neither shameful nor un-

* Where the fleet under Tourville was totally defeated, in the year 1692, by admiral Russel, afterwards created earl of Orford,

profitable. The system of general equilibrium, composed of so many particular views, produced this peace, and engendered a scheme of politics unheard of before:

The last prince of the Austrian branch, who now sat on the Spanish throne, had no children, and was in a very bad state of health. The courts of London and the Hague entered into a compact with Lewis XIV. whom they did not love, whereby, in conjunction with him, they disposed of the Spanish dominions. These were shared among several powers, and a part given to Lewis, for fear he should have put himself in a condition to seize upon the whole. Charles II. king of Spain, resenting such an insult upon his weakness as that of dividing his estate even while he lived, named the son of the elector of Bavaria as his heir. This child was grandson to Philip III.

The choice appeared both just and prudent: the house of Austria might murmur, but had it not in its power to avenge itself. The dissensions which must have inevitably followed from the partition, was now no longer to be feared; and the equilibrium of Europe was preserved: but this young prince died three months after his being declared heir to the Spanish succession.

A second partition treaty was then set on foot, whereby the Milanese was given to the house of Lorrain, and the latter territory ceded to France, part of which project we have seen carried into execution.

The king of Spain, finding himself draw near his end, though in the flower of his age, proposed to leave his crown to the archduke Charles, his wife's nephew, second son to the emperor

emperor Leopold. So strongly did the system of equilibrium predominate, that he did not dare to leave his dominions to the eldest son, being certain that the fear of seeing Spain, the Indies, the empire, Hungary, Bohemia, and Lombardy, united under one prince, would raise the rest of Europe in arms. He requested the emperor Leopold to send his second son Charles to Madrid, at the head of 10,000 men; but of this proceeding neither France, England, Holland, nor Italy, would have allowed, being all for the partition. It happened, in these affairs of the utmost importance to the interest of two great kings, as it often does on very slight occasions in private life; they had words, and came to an open rupture. The German pride could not digest the Spanish haughtiness; the countess of Pelitz, who governed the queen of Spain, alienated instead of securing the affections of the people, whom she should have attached to her side; and they were still more disgusted by the arrogance of the court of Vienna.

The young archduke commonly spoke of the Spaniards in a very disrespectful manner; and thence was taught, that princes should be very cautious how they expressed themselves. His speeches were transmitted to Madrid, not without rancor, by the bishop of Lerida, ambassador from Spain to the court of Vienna, who was disgusted with the Germans. He wrote invectives much more bitter against the Austrian councils, than ever the archduke had thrown out against the Spaniards. "The disposition of Leopold's ministers," says he in one of his letters, "resembles the horns of the bulls

in my country; *they are little, hard, and crooked.*" This letter was made public; the bishop was recalled, and, on his return to Madrid, increased more than ever the aversion of the Spaniards against the Germans. Many trifling matters, for such will always intermingle themselves among the most important affairs, contributed to bring about the great change which happened in Europe, and made way for that revolution, whereby Spain and the Indies was for ever lost to the house of Austria.

Cardinal Porticarero, and the rest of the Spanish grandees, who were most in favour at court, united to prevent the dismembering of Spanish monarchy, and persuaded Charles II. to prefer a grandson of Lewis XIV. to a prince very distant from, and incapable of defending them. This disposition was not annulling the solemn renunciation of the crown of Spain, which had been made by the mother and wife of Lewis XIV. because it had been only made to prevent the two kingdoms from being united under their eldest born, who was not now selected. Thus justice was done to the rights of blood, at the same time that the Spanish monarchy was preserved entire.

The king, who was a scrupulous man, consulted the best divines, and they agreed in opinion with his council. At length, infirm as he was, he wrote himself to pope Innocent XII. stating the case, and asking his advice. The Pope, who imagined he saw the liberty of Italy established in proportion as the house of Austria was weakened, advised him in his answer to give the preference to the house of France. The pope's letter was dated July 16th, 1700.

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He wisely treated the king's case of conscience as a matter of state, while the king himself, who, with good reason, was desirous of having justice on his side, treated this very important matter of state as a case of conscience.

Lewis XIV. had notice of this step; the court of Versailles had no other share in this memorable event: there was not then even a French ambassador at Madrid; for marshal Harcourt had been recalled six months before, his longer continuance there being disagreeable, because of the partition treaty, which France seemed ready to support by force of arms. All Europe was mistaken in supposing this treaty dictated at the court of Versailles. The expiring monarch had consulted only the interest of his kingdom, and the desires of his subjects. This will, which caused such an alteration in the affairs of Europe, was kept so secret, that count Harrach, the imperial ambassador, still flattered himself that the archduke was the declared successor, and waited a good while the issue of the council assembled immediately after the king's death, before he was undeceived.

The duke d'Abrantes approached him with open arms; the ambassador no longer doubted of the archduke's being a king, until he heard the duke d'Abrantes, as he embraced him, express himself thus: "I come from taking leave of the house of Austria."

Thus, after two hundred years spent in war and negotiations about some frontiers of the Spanish dominions, France saw herself, by a stroke of a pen, put into possession of the whole monarchy, without treaty or cabal, na, without so much as having hoped for that succession.

It has been in some measure the custom thus to publish here the plain truth of a fact hitherto misrepresented by statesmen or historians, according as prejudices or appearances misled them. That which has in so many volumes been set forth of the sums of money lavished by the marshal d'Harcourt, and his bribing the Spanish ministers to come at the will, must be ranked amongst political lies and popular errors. The minister then at the head of foreign affairs in France, has given an authentic attestation of this truth under his own hand-writing; but the king of Spain, in choosing for his successor the grandson of a king who had been so long his enemy, had plainly employed his thoughts on the consequences which the idea of a general equilibrium must often excite.

The duke of Anjou, grandson to Lewis XIV. had been called to the succession of Spain only, because there seemed to be no hope of his ever rising to the throne of France; and the same will which, in case of the failure of princes of the blood of Lewis XIV. bequeathed the crown to the archduke Charles, afterwards emperor, by the name of Charles VI. expressly stipulates that the empire and Spain should never be reunited under the same sovereign.

That branch of the house of Austria which sat on the imperial throne, seeing itself deprived of the Spanish succession, except as a substitute, raised almost all Europe in arms against the house of Bourbon. That very Leopold who neither would nor could send ten thousand men into Spain to secure the throne to his son the archduke, soon brought an hundred thousand into the field. The duke of Savoy, father

ther-in-law to the duke of Burgundy, and to the king of Spain, entered shortly after into a confederacy against his sons-in-law. England and Holland, which had declared for the archduke, sustained the chief burthen of this long war, until at length that equilibrium which had been a pretext for so many disputes, became itself the basis of a peace. The very thing happened which had been foreseen by Charles II. The archduke, to whom the Spanish monarchy had been provisionally left, and for whom a bloody war had been kindled, became emperor in 1711, by the death of his elder brother Joseph. That faction which in England was called Tory, and which opposed the Whig administration, made use of this opportunity to dispose queen Anne to lavish no more the blood and treasure of the English in a cause whereby the emperor Charles VI. must acquire more power than ever had been vested in the hands of Charles V. and by a continuance, in which she also acted in direct opposition to the views and real interest of England, as well as the rest of Europe, which had been apprehensive of seeing Spain and the empire united under the same crowned head. But an incident, from which such important consequences could never have been expected, contributed more than any thing else to bring about the great work of peace.

One of the chief causes of the will of Charles II. had been the haughtiness of a German lady. The peace of Europe was owing to the insolence with which an English lady treated queen Anne. The duchess of Marlborough put the
queen

queen into a violent passion; so that she lost all patience, and the Tories turned the affair to their own advantage. The queen changed her ministers and her measures. England, after being so long the bitter enemy of France, was the first to conclude a peace with her *: and soon afterwards that very useful victory obtained by marshal Villars at Denain, in the neighbourhood of Landrecy, determined the states of Holland and the emperor Charles VI. to make a general peace.

Lewis XIV. after being persecuted for ten years by evil fortune, after having been reduced in 1710 to such distress that he was forced to abandon the support of his grandson, and having had the mortification to find himself not attended to, unless he joined with the allies against his own blood, had yet at length the satisfaction to see his grandson firmly settled upon the throne of Spain.

But there was a necessity for dividing this monarchy, which had been given to Philip V. only in hope that it might not be dismembered. By the treaty of Rastadt and Baden, made in 1714, the emperor was to keep all the Austrian Netherlands, with the duchy of Milan and kingdom of Naples, in spite of that antient law which provides that this kingdom shall never be held with the empire. Charles V. had submitted to this law in receiving the investiture of Naples from the pope, before he had assumed the imperial crown. But this very powerful vassal of

* At Utrecht—It is no easy task to determine whether this peace was most owing to party or to patriotism.

the pope's found not much difficulty in obtaining a release from his oath; and Charles VI. afterwards experienced as much civility from the court of Rome as Charles V. had done.

Sicily, another branch which had been lopped from the Spanish monarchy, was then bequeathed to the duke of Savoy, who had afterwards Sardinia in exchange for it. At length Minorca and Gibraltar having been taken by the English, remained to that nation. By this peace the king of Prussia was put in possession of the Upper Guelderland, The Dutch acquired for their barrier Namur, Tournay, Menin, Furnes, Warneton, Ypres, Dendermonde, &c. The emperor, besides ceding to them the defence of these places, paid them annually two millions five hundred thousand livres; a convention scarcely to be paralleled in history, that a sovereign should give up his strong towns and his money to his allies, instead of garrisoning the places with his troops.

The elector of Bavaria, father to him who was afterwards emperor under the name of Charles VII. and his brother, the elector of Cologne, were reinstated in their principalities and rights, which they had lost by siding with France, and being unfortunate. The emperor Joseph had, of his own authority, and independent of the consent of the three colleges, put them under the ban of the empire. Thus vast advantages were acquired by all the potentates. The principal, and yet it was not sufficiently respected, was the preservation of mankind. An hundred thousand men at least must have been annually sacrificed in the course of a

war wherein six hundred thousand men * were constantly in arms on both sides in Italy, Spain, Germany, and Flanders. It is an undoubted truth that in ten years time the southern parts of Europe had lost above one million of men in the flower of their age.

The twenty years which followed the peace of Utrecht enabled each nation to repair its losses; a happy series of years, the felicity of which met with very slight interruption. England encreased her trade by the cession made to her by France of Newfoundland and Acadia, also by the *Assiento* contract, which put her in possession of the Negro trade in Spanish America, and, in fine, by the liberty which she extorted from Spain of sending annually a ship to Porto Bello, whereby she carried on an immense contraband trade.

France had above eighteen hundred merchant ships employed in 1740; whereas at the time of the treaty of Utrecht, she had not more than three hundred. Her trade and manufactures flourished. A new East-India company arose out of the ruins of a system of finances which in 1719 had impoverished one part of the nation, and enriched the other; and in 1725 it advanced to the government ten millions of livres, and was possessed of thirty-nine millions in ships, storehouses, and merchantable goods. This company rebuilt and enlarged the town of Pondicherry, which is at present inhabited

* The present war has armed a considerably greater number, and been attended with more misery to the human species.

by an hundred thousand people, regularly fortified, and defended by four hundred and fifty pieces of cannon *. They caused the harbour of Port l'Orient in Brittany to be cleansed, and raised the place from a small village to a trading town. They were possessed of sixty ships, from four hundred to eight hundred tons. In fine, during the space of twenty-eight years they had been establishing a nursery for seamen, and a source of continual abundance; for while all the stock proprietors received a considerable interest from the farming of tobacco, all the profits of the company were expended in making new establishments. They could be charged with nothing but superfluous expences, which are strong proofs of wealth. The commerce of the French colonies alone produced a circulation of one hundred millions †, and enriched the commonwealth by the commodities transported from one hemisphere to the other. Since the year 1712, some of these colonies have increased doubly.

Almost every town in France was anew embellished, and the whole kingdom was apparently more populous, having, during this long æra, received no disturbance from foreign wars. The falling out between the duke of Orleans, then regent, and Spain, in 1718, was but of

* The populousness and strength of Pondicherry are greatly magnified by Voltaire, as was manifest on its late reduction, under the auspices of colonel Coote. It was certainly the best fortified place in the East Indies, but is now wholly dismantled.

† About four millions sterling—Hence the importance of Martinique and Guadalupe, their chief settlements, may be estimated.

short duration, nor was it attended with unfortunate consequences. It was not a quarrel between nation and nation, but between two princes; in Paris it was hardly minded; the people there attended to nothing but the great game of stocks, which made and undid so many great fortunes.

The views of Spain were to recover the provinces which had been rent from her formerly; and this was not a time for her to make the attempt. It was to no purpose that her troops made a descent upon the island of Sardinia, which then belonged to the emperor, and afterwards upon Sicily, of which the duke of Savoy had been put in possession by the peace of Utrecht. All the fruit of these armaments was that the emperor Charles VI. assisted by an English squadron, and aided even by the regent of France, seized upon Sicily for himself, tho' by the peace of Utrecht it had been ceded to the house of Savoy, the princes of which, after having been four years kings of Sicily, became kings of Sardinia, which they still hold.

Never at any time were so many negotiations on foot as now; never so many treaties; nor so many jealousies. The interest of each nation seemed to change with that of individuals. The English government, which had been closely united with that ministry which during the reign of Lewis XIV. had done every thing to fix Philip V. upon the throne of Spain, now changed sides: matters went so far from rolling in their natural channel, that the court of Madrid flung herself into the arms of her rival and enemy the court of Vienna, who had so long contested with her for the sovereignty of Naples,

ples, and lately deprived her of the island of Sicily.

In short, this very emperor Charles VI. whose firm intention was always to prevent the new house of Spain from having any footing in Italy, was so far prevailed upon, though of a different inclination, as to consent that a son of Philip V. and of his second wife Elizabeth of Parma, should be introduced with six thousand Spaniards into the duchies of Parma and Placentia, though the succession was not as yet open: he also gave the eventual investiture of it, as well as that of the great dukedom of Tuscany, by a solemn treaty, which had been long upon the carpet, in 1725, to Don Carlos *; and he received two hundred thousand Spanish pistoles, by way of purchase, for an engagement which was one day to cost him so dear. All the proceedings of this agreement were surprising: two rival houses were united without any confidence in each other. The English, after having done all in their power to dethrone Philip V. and dispossessed him of Gibraltar and Minorca, which in spite of Spain they still keep, were the mediators of this peace. It was signed by Riperda, a Dutchman, who was then all-powerful in Spain, and who was disgraced after having signed it †.

While the Spanish branch of the house of Bourbon thus encreased her dominions by a transient union with her enemy. she had a mis-

* The present king of Spain, who was conducted to Naples by an English fleet under the command of Sir Charles Wager.

† He afterwards died in great indigence and obscurity at Tetuan, on the coast of Barbary.

understanding with the French branch, in spite of the ties of blood and interest whereby they ought sooner or later to be reunited. It was thus the two branches of the house of Austria had been formerly divided. France, having at that time joined with England, had no real allies; but in the year 1727 things began to fall into their natural channel. The French ministry strengthened the bonds of friendship subsisting between the two houses of France; and that ministry appearing altogether equitable and disinterested, became insensibly the mediators of Europe.

A war broke out between England and Spain, occasioned by a commercial dispute. The Spaniards laid siege to Gibraltar, before which town they wasted both their time and their forces, for the English had rendered it impregnable. France was the mediatrix; she saved the honour of the Spaniards, by prevailing on them to raise the siege, and reconciling the disputing parties by treaty.

The emperor would have eluded the promise he had made of ceding Tuscany, Parma, and Placentia, to Don Carlos. The French ministry engaged him to keep his word: they also artfully prevailed upon the English, though avowed enemies to the grandeur of the house of Bourbon, to transport six thousand Spaniards into Italy, thereby to secure to Don Carlos his new territory; and, in fine, that prince was shortly after conveyed thither, together with his troops, by an English fleet. In 1731 he was acknowledged sovereign of Parma, and heir to the dukedom of Tuscany. The great duke of Florence, the last of the Medici family, accepted

cepted of an heir, which had been given him without his having been once consulted.

Some time before, the French ministry had determined the emperor in his resolution of suppressing the East-India company, which had been established at Ostend. It was the interest of all trading nations, whereof France was not then the least considerable. She enjoyed the serene glory of making up all differences between her neighbours, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, gave a total change to the affairs of Europe. Cardinal Fleury, then near fourscore years of age, made it his whole study to preserve this happy peace to France, and to all Europe. His turn of mind, his character, his time of life, and his glory, which was founded in moderation, all rendered him averse to war. Walpole *, the prime minister of England, was exactly of the same way of thinking: Spain was possessed of all she had required. The North was in profound peace, when the death of Augustus II. king of Poland, replunged Europe into that series of misfortunes from which she is rarely exempt for ten years together.

King Stanislaus, father-in law to Lewis XV. already nominated to the crown of Poland in 1740, had been chosen in the most legal and solemn manner; but the emperor Charles VI. obliged the states to proceed to another election,

* Sir Robert Walpole was averse to the war, from an apprehension that the demand of extraordinary supplies to carry it on, would introduce an inquiry into his conduct, particularly with respect to the national debt, which, notwithstanding his boasted sinking fund, had been so little diminished during a peace of near thirty years.

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which was supported by the Imperial and Russian arms. The son of the late king of Poland, elector of Saxony, and Charles VI's nephew, carried it from his competitor. Thus the house of Austria, which had found itself unable to keep Spain and the West-Indies, was yet sufficiently strong to wrest Poland from Lewis the Fifteenth's father-in-law. France saw the same accident repeated, which had happened to Prince Armand de Conti, who, tho' solemnly elected, yet being without money and troops, and little better recommended than supported, lost that kingdom, to which he had been called by the voice of the people. King Stanislaus went to Dantzick to support his election; but the majority by whom he had been chosen soon allowed themselves to be borne down by the minority that were against him. This country, where the people are enslaved; where the nobility sell their votes; where there is never money enough in the public treasury to maintain an army; where the laws are without vigour; where their liberty is only productive of divisions; this same country, I say, boasts in vain their warlike nobility, who can bring into the field 100,000 men.

Ten thousand men soon dispersed the partizans of Stanislaus. The kingdom of Poland, which in the preceding age looked upon the Russians with contempt, were now intimidated and directed by them. The empire of Russia had become formidable since it had been new-modelled by Peter the Great. Ten thousand disciplined slaves of Russia made the Polish nobility disappear; and Stanislaus, having taken refuge in the city of Dantzick, was quickly besieged

besieged by 40,000 Russians : the emperor of Germany, united with Russia, thought himself certain of success. To preserve the balance of power, France should have sent thither a numerous army by sea ; but England could not, without taking part, have tamely looked on amidst such immense preparations. Cardinal Fleury, willing to keep well with that crown, neither chose to have the shame of entirely abandoning the cause of Stanislaus, nor yet did he incline to hazard any large number of troops in his defence. He therefore fitted out a squadron, on board of which were embarked 1500 men, commanded by a brigadier. This officer did not look upon his commission in a serious light ; so that judging, as he approached Dantzick, that he should only sacrifice his little army, without reaping any advantage, retired into Denmark.

Count de Plelo, ambassador from France to the king of Denmark, beheld with indignation a retreat which seemed so mortifying to the nation. He was a young man well versed in polite learning and philosophy, inspired with sentiments of a very heroic nature, and deserving of a better fate. He resolved to succour Dantzick with this small force against a powerful army, or to die in the attempt. Before he embarked, he wrote a letter to count de Maurepas, the minister of state, which concluded thus : " I am certain I shall never return ; to you I recommend my wife and children." He arrived before Dantzick, landed his men, and attacked the Russian army. He fell in the field as he had predicted, covered with wounds ; and those
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of his followers that were not killed, were made prisoners of war. His letter, which was very affecting, and the account of his death, reached Paris together. It drew tears from the eyes of the whole council: he was unanimously admired and lamented. I remember, some time after, when his widow appeared with her children in the public walks, the multitude gathered round with acclamations of tenderness, fully expressive of the veneration in which they held his memory.

Dantzick was taken: the ambassador from France to Poland, who was then in the place, was made prisoner of war, without any respect being paid to the privileges of his character. King Stanislaus escaped, but not without infinite danger, and by means of more disguises than one; after having seen a price set by the Muscovite general upon his head, in a free country, of which he was a native, and in the heart of a nation to the rule of which he had been every way legally elected.

The French ministry had totally lost that reputation so necessary to the support of grandeur, had they not revenged such an insult; but that insult would have been ill-timed, if not advantageous. Their distance from each other prevented the Muscovites from feeling the indignation of France; and policy directed it should be turned against the emperor, which was effectually done in Germany and Italy.

France entered into alliance with Spain and Sardinia. These three powers had different interests, but all united in the one point of weakening the house of Austria. The dukes of
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of Savoy had been a long time encreasing their dominions by slow degrees; sometimes by hiring troops to the emperors, and sometimes by declaring against them. King Charles-Emanuel had his eye upon the Milanese, and it had been promised him by the ministry both of Versailles and Madrid. Philip V. of Spain, or, more properly speaking, his spouse Elizabeth of Parma, hoped for some better establishment for her children than Parma and Placentia. The king of France had no advantage in view but his own glory, the humbling of his enemies, and the triumph of his allies. No body then foresaw that Lorraine would be the fruit of this war. We are almost always guided by events, whereof we have seldom the direction. Never was any negotiation brought to so quick a conclusion as that which united these three monarchs. England and Holland, which had been generally accustomed to side with Austria against France, forsook her upon this occasion. This was the effect of that character for equity and moderation which the court of France had acquired. It was owing to the notion conceived by her natural enemies, that her views were purely pacific, and free from all ambitious views, that kept them quiet, even while she was at war. Nothing could have done more honour to cardinal Fleury, than his being able to persuade the different powers, that France might wage war against the emperor without endangering the liberties of Europe: therefore they looked quietly upon the rapid success of the French arms. They were masters of the Rhine, and conjunctively with Spain and Savoy ruled in Italy, where marshal Villars died at

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the age of 84, after having taken Milan. His successor marshal Coigni obtained two victories, while the Spanish general, the duke de Montemar, gained a battle at Bitonto in the kingdom of Naples, whence he acquired a new surname. Don Carlos, who had been acknowledged heir to Tuscany, was soon declared king of Naples. Thus did the emperor lose almost all Italy by having given a king to Poland; and a son of the king of Spain was in two campaigns secured in possession of the two Sicilies; kingdoms which had been so often taken and retaken, and which, for two centuries past, had been always claimed by the house of Austria.

This war in Italy is the only one which was terminated with any solid success to the French since the time of Charlemagne. There was this reason for it: the guardian of the Alps, now become the most powerful prince in these territories, was on their side; they were assisted by the best troops in the service of the crown of Spain, and their armies were always well supplied. The emperor was then glad to subscribe to such terms of peace as were offered him by victorious France. Cardinal Fleury, who had had wisdom enough to prevent England and Holland from taking part in the war, had also the satisfaction of seeing it brought to a happy issue without their interposition.

By this peace Don Carlos was acknowledged king of Naples and the two Sicilies. Europe had been long accustomed to see kingdoms given away and exchanged. The inheritance of the house of Medicis, which had been formerly awarded to Don Carlos, was now made over

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to Francis duke of Lorraine, the emperor's intended son-in-law. The last grand duke of Tuscany asked, upon his death-bed, "If they did not intend him a third heir, and what child did it please the empire and France to make for him?" Not that the grand duchy of Tuscany looked upon itself as a fief of the empire; but the emperor regarded it as such, as well as Parma and Placentia, which had been always claimed by the holy see, to which the last duke of Parma had paid homage; so much do the rights of princes change with the times. By this peace the duchies of Parma and Placentia, which were the birth-right of Don Carlos, son to Philip V. and a princess of Parma, were yielded as his property to the emperor Charles VI.

The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, who had laid his account in having the Milanese, to which his family, which had gradually aggrandised itself, had some old pretensions, obtained only a small share of it, viz. the Novarese, the Tortonese, and the fiefs of Langhes: he derived his claim to this dukedom from a daughter of Philip II. king of Spain, his ancestor. France had also some old pretensions descended to them from Lewis XII. the natural heir of the duchy. Philip V. had likewise his claims founded upon the infeoffments renewed to four kings of Spain his predecessors; but these pretensions yielded to conveniency and public advantage. The emperor kept possession of the Milanese, notwithstanding the general law of the fiefs of the empire, which enjoins that the emperor should always grant the investiture of them, as lord paramount; otherwise he might, in process of

time, swallow up all the feudal dependencies of his crown.

By this treaty king Stanislaus renounced the kingdom, to which he had been twice elected, and in the possession of which his friends could not preserve him. He retained the title of king; but he wanted a more solid indemnity; an indemnity more advantageous to France than to himself. Cardinal Fleury seemed at that time contented with the duchy of Bar *, which was yielded to Stanislaus by the duke of Lorraine, and the reversion to the crown of France: but the then reigning duke of Lorraine was not to yield up his duchy, till put in full possession of Tuscany. Thus the giving up Lorraine depended upon many casualties; and thus very little profit arose from the greatest success and most favourable conjunctures. The cardinal was encouraged to make his own use of these advantages: he demanded Lorraine upon the same terms with the duchy of Bar, and he obtained it: it only cost him a little ready money, and a pension of four millions five hundred thousand livres granted to Francis until the duchy of Tuscany should devolve to him. Thus the reunion of Lorraine with France, which had before been fo

* The duchy of Bar, though but a poor equivalent for the crown of Poland, yields, nevertheless, a considerable revenue. It is surrounded now entirely by the French dominions, but was formerly subject to the dukes of Lorraine, and generally included within the limits of that duchy, until duke Charles III. was despoiled of his territories in 1633, by an edict of the Parliament of Paris, and his dominions united to France in 1659, by an article in the treaty of the Pyrenees.

often tried in vain, was irrecoverably completed. By this proceeding a Polish king was transplanted into Lorrain, the reigning dukes of Lorrain were removed into Tuscany, and a second son of Spain mounted the throne of Naples. The medal of Trajan thus inscribed, *Regna assignata*, "kingdoms disposed of," might have been renewed by France.

The emperor Charles VI. thought he had gained considerably by this treaty: he had been labouring ever since the year 1713 to engage all the states of the empire, and the princes his neighbours, to guaranty the indivisible possession of his hereditary dominions to his eldest daughter Maria Theresa, who had been married to the duke of Lorrain, grand duke of Tuscany, in 1736. The emperor hoped to see his almost expiring race revived in the person of his eldest daughter's son, which son might preserve the patrimony of the house of Austria, and rejoin it to the empire. With this view he had contributed to raise the elector of Saxony, who had married one of his nieces, to the throne of Poland by force of arms; and procured the guaranty of that famous act of succession, entitled The Caroline Pragmatic Sanction. It was guarantied by England, Holland, Russia, Denmark, and the states of the empire: he even flattered himself that he should obtain an equivalent to a formal acceptance from the elector of Bavaria, which elector was on that account to intermarry with his niece, daughter of the emperor Joseph. In short, he thought he had secured every thing, when he had obtained the guaranty of France; although prince Eugene, a little before his death, had told him he ought

to have an army of 200,000 foldiers, and no guaranty.

He pressed the French ministry, however, to assure, by treaty, the order established in the Austrian succession; and they consented. The elector of Bavaria, who imagined he had lawful claims upon the Austrian succession, in prejudice to Charles the Sixth's daughters, intreated also the protection of the court of France, who was at that time of sufficient weight to settle all their rights. That ministry, in 1737, gave the emperor to understand, that by this guaranty nothing was intended that could injure the pretensions of the house of Bavaria; and they reminded him, that in 1732, when he prevailed upon the states of the empire to accede to this Pragmatic Sanction, he had formally declared he would not prejudice the rights of any person whatever. They entreated him to do justice to the house of Bavaria, and their remonstrances were for that time made in secret. Those sparks, which were so soon to cause a most dreadful combustion, were now concealed beneath the embers.

All the princes of Christendom were at peace, if we except the disputes just kindling between Spain and England about their American commerce. The court of France was still looked upon as the general arbitrator of Europe.

The emperor, without consulting the empire, made war upon the Turks. It was unfortunate to him; but the mediation of France saved him on the very brink of the precipice to which he had been driven. Mons. Villeneuve, her ambassador to the Port, went into Hungary, and in 1739 concluded a peace with the
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grand vizier, of which his imperial majesty stood in much need.

France almost at the same time restored peace to the republic of Genoa, menaced with a civil war: she likewise subdued and tempered the Corsicans, who had thrown off the Genoese yoke. The island of Corsica, which had long since assumed the title of a kingdom, had submitted, about the end of the thirteenth century, to the Genoese; a richer people, but less numerous, and less warlike. The Corsicans, who were always untractable, were now in open rebellion, under pretence of their being oppressed: their last insurrection had continued ever since 1725. A German gentleman, a native of the country of Marck, called Theodore de Neuhoff, having travelled all over Europe in search of adventures, chanced to be at Leghorn in 1736: he held a correspondence with the malecontents, and offered them his service. Being employed by them for that purpose, he embarked for Tunis, and returned to Corsica with a reinforcement of arms, ammunition, and money; whereupon he was declared king: he was crowned with a laurel wreath, acknowledged by the whole island, and carried on the war. The Genoese senate set a price upon his head; but being neither able to procure his assassination, nor yet to reduce the Corsicans, implored the emperor's protection. As this appeared a dangerous step, because the emperor, looking upon himself as lord paramount of Italy, would have set himself up as supreme judge between Genoa and the rebels; the senate had then recourse to France, who sent into that island successively count de Boissieux, and

the Marquis de Maillebois, afterwards a marshal of France. Theodore * was driven out of the island, the malecontents quieted, at least for a while, and all things were peaceably settled.

While France was interposing her good offices between the Genoese and Corsicans, she was doing the same for Spain and England, who were just embarking in a sea war, much more destructive than the claims about which they had quarrelled were valuable. In 1735, France had employed herself in settling the disputes between Spain and Portugal; none of her neighbours had any right to complain of her; all nations looked upon her as their mediatrix and common parent.

* Some years after, this unfortunate person died, a prisoner for debt, in one of the jails in London, leaving a just stigma on the ill-timed penury of the British ad—st—.

C H A P. II.

The emperor Charles the Sixth dies : four powers dispute for the succession. The queen of Hungary acknowledged in her hereditary dominions. Silesia seized upon by the king of Prussia.

I N the month of October 1740, the emperor Charles VI. died at the age of fifty-five. It is necessary for princes, as the peace of their dominions depends upon their respective lives, to know that this monarch's death was occasioned by over-eating himself at an entertainment. It was accident brought him to the grave, and reduced the empire to the brink of destruction. As the death of the king of Poland, Augustus II. had caused great disturbances, it is evident that of Charles VI. the last prince of the house of Austria, must have produced far other revolutions. In the first place, Italy expected to become independent, a state to which it had long aspired. Several principalities, which were looked upon as fiefs of the empire, disclaimed this subjection. Rome especially, plundered by Charles V. severely treated by his successors, oppressed and fleeced by Joseph, brother of Charles VI. now flattered herself with the hopes of being delivered from the pretensions of the German emperors, who, ever since Otho I. have imagined themselves successors to the rights of the ancient Cæsars ; and indeed the German chancery looks upon the other kingdoms of Europe as provinces severed from the empire. In their pro-

to col they give the title of Majesty to no king whatever.

The elector of Cologn stiles himself Chancellor of Italy, and the elector of Triers assumes the title of Chancellor of Gaul. The German king, whom they chuse at Frankfort, is declared king of the Romans, though he has not the smallest jurisdiction in Rome; and he exacts a tribute of all the provinces of Italy, when he has forces sufficient to compel the payment. Such a number of equivocal rights had been the source of all the calamities and subductions Italy had sustained for the space of seven hundred years. It seemed, therefore, probable, that the confusion into which Germany was in danger of being thrown by the death of Charles VI. would give to Italy that extensive liberty of which the people were so very ambitious. The new revolution, which every body foresaw would follow from the extinction of the house of Austria, might not only annihilate the rights and the name of the Roman empire; but it even appeared doubtful, whether Germany was not likely to be divided betwixt several princes, all so potent, as to find it difficult to acknowledge a supreme head, or at least to leave that head possessed of the same authority as his predecessors had enjoyed.

It seems, therefore, that the inheritance of the house of Austria could not possibly avoid being dismembered. This inheritance consisted of Hungary and Bohemia, kingdoms which had long been elective, but were rendered hereditary by the Austrian princes; of Austrian Suabia, called Austria Anterior; of the Upper and Lower Austria, conquered in the thirteenth century:

century; of Stiria, Carinthia, Carniola, Flanders, the Burgaw, the Four Forest Towns, the Brisgaw, Friuli, Tirol, the Milanese, the dukedoms of Mantua and Parma. With regard to Naples and Sicily, these two kingdoms were possessed by Don Carlos. Maria Theresa, the eldest daughter of Charles VI. founded her rights on the law of nature, which pointed out her being called to her paternal inheritance, and on the Pragmatic Sanction, by which this law was confirmed, and on the guarantee of so many princes.

Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, demanded the succession by virtue of the will of Ferdinand, the first brother to Charles V. By this will, Ferdinand, in default of male issue, named his eldest daughter the archduchess Anne, wedded to a duke of Bavaria, heiress to his dominions. From her the elector Charles was descended; and as there were no male heirs left of the house of Austria, he claimed to inherit in right of his fourth ancestor.

Rights of a more recent nature were alledged by Augustus III. king of Poland and elector of Saxony: these were the rights of his wife, eldest daughter of the emperor Joseph, the elder brother of Charles VI. If Maria Theresa looked upon the Pragmatic Sanction as a sacred and inviolable law, the archduchess, queen of Poland, had another Pragmatic Sanction previously regulated in her favour by the father of Joseph and of Charles. It had been settled in 1703, that the daughter of Joseph should inherit preferably to the daughter of the younger brother Charles VI. in case her two brothers should die without male issue. After Charles

mounted the imperial throne, he abolished this sanction; therefore they might set that which he had made aside, after his death. His brother's daughters had been in his power, nor did he marry them till he made them renounce their rights: but a renunciation of such a nature must be considered as compulsive, and consequently illegal. On every side they pleaded rights of blood, testamentary dispositions, family compacts, the laws of Germany, and the law of nations.

The king of Spain extended his pretensions to the whole succession of the house of Austria, deriving his right from a wife of Philip II. daughter of the emperor Maximilian II. a princess from whom Philip V. was descended by the female line. It was indeed an extraordinary revolution in the affairs of Europe, to see the house of Bourbon laying claim to the whole inheritance of the house of Austria. Lewis XV. might have pretended to this succession by as just a title as any other prince, since he was descended in a direct line from the eldest male branch of the house of Austria, by the wife of Lewis XIII. and likewise by the wife of Lewis XIV. but it was his business rather to act as an arbitrator and protector, than as a competitor, for by that means he had it in his power to determine the fate of this succession, and of the imperial throne, in concert with one half of Europe; whereas, had he entered the lists as a pretender, he would have had all Europe against him. This cause of so many crowned heads was published by public memorials in every part of the Christian world; there was not a prince, nor hardly a private person, that did

did not interest himself in the dispute; and nothing less was apprehended than a general war. But how greatly was human policy confounded, when a storm arose from a quarter where nobody expected it!

In the beginning of this century, the emperor Leopold, availing himself of the right which the German emperors had constantly attributed to themselves of creating kings, erected Ducal Prussia into a kingdom in 1701, in favour of Frederic William, elector of Brandenburg. At that time Prussia was only a large desert; but Frederic William II. its second king, pursued a plan of politics different from most of the princes of his time: he spent above five millions of livres in clearing the lands that were incumbered with wood, in building towns and in filling them with inhabitants: he sent for families from Suabia and Franconia: he brought above sixteen thousand men from Saltzburg, and furnished them with all necessary implements of labour. In this manner, by forming a new state, and by extraordinary œconomy, he created, as it were, a power of another kind: he laid up constantly about sixty thousand German crowns, which, in a reign of twenty-eight years, amounted to an immense treasure: what he did not put into his coffers, he spent in raising and maintaining of fourscore thousand men, whom he taught a new kind of discipline, tho' he did not emp'oy them in the field: but his son, Frederic III. made a proper use of his father's preparatives: every body knew that this young prince, having been in disgrace in his father's reign, had devoted all his leisure hours

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to the culture of his mind, and to improving those extraordinary talents with which he had been blessed by nature. Those talents, which indeed would have highly graced a private subject, the public saw and admired; but neither his political nor military abilities were yet perceived; so that the house of Austria entertained no more distrust of him, than of the late king of Prussia.

He came to the crown three months before the succession of the house of Austria and of the empire was open: he foresaw the general confusion; and, upon the emperor's decease, he did not lose a moment, but marched his army directly into Silesia, one of the richest provinces which the daughter of Charles VI. possessed in Germany. He laid claim to four duchies, which his ancestors had formerly held by purchases, or by family compacts. His predecessors had repeatedly and solemnly renounced all pretensions thereto, because they were not in a condition to make them good; but, as the present king had power in his hands, he was resolved to reclaim them.

France, Spain, Bavaria, and Saxony, were all now busy about the election of an emperor. The elector of Bavaria solicited France to procure him at least a share of the Austrian succession. He pretended indeed a title to the whole inheritance in his writings, but he durst not demand the whole by his ministers. Maria Theresa, however, the great duke of Tuscany's spouse, took possession immediately of all the dominions which had been left her by her father, and received the homages of the states of
Austria

Austria at Vienna, on the seventh of November 1740. Bohemia, and the provinces of Italy, presented their testimonies of allegiance by their deputies. But she particularly gained the affections of the Hungarians by consenting to take the antient coronation oath of king Andrew II. made in 1222, and couched in these terms: "If I or any of my successors shall, at any time whatever, violate your privileges, be it permitted, in virtue of this promise, both to you and your descendants, to defend yourselves, without being liable to be treated as rebels."

The greater the aversion which the ancestors of the archduchess queen had always shewn to the performance of such engagements, the more this prudent step endeared her to the Hungarians. This people, who had so often attempted to shake off the Austrian yoke, embraced that of Maria Theresa; and after they had been two hundred years engaged in seditions, quarrels, and civil wars, they suddenly began to adore their sovereign. The queen was not crowned till some months after, which ceremony was performed at Presburg on the 24th of June 1741; yet her authority was not the less complete: she had already gained the hearts of the whole nation by that popular affability which her ancestors had seldom practised; and she had laid aside that ceremonious and fastidious air, which is apt to render princes odious, without procuring them any greater respect. Her aunt, the archduchess, governess of the Netherlands, never admitted any body to eat at her table; the niece admitted to hers all her ladies and officers of distinction; the deputies

ties of the states were at liberty freely to address her, she never refused audience, nor suffered any body to depart from her discontented.

Her first care was to secure to the grand duke her husband a partnership of her crowns, under the name of co-regent, without diminishing her sovereignty, or violating the pragmatic sanction. She mentioned it to the states of Austria the very day she received their oath, and soon after she compassed her design. This princess flattered herself in these beginnings, that the dignities with which she adorned the prince her husband, would have smoothed his way to the imperial throne; but she had no money, and her troops were greatly diminished and dispersed in the different parts of her vast dominions.

The king of Prussia proposed to her, at first, that she should yield the Lower Silesia to him; and, in that case, he offered her his whole credit, his assistance, his arms, with five millions of French livres, and also to guaranty the remainder of her dominions, and to settle the imperial crown upon her husband. The most experienced statesmen foresaw, that if the queen of Hungary refused such offers, Germany must be thrown into a total confusion; but the blood of so many emperors which flowed thro' the veins of this princess, would not suffer her even to think of dismembering her patrimony: she was weak, but intrepid; numbers of Austrians, who saw only the outward grandeur, but not the imbecility, of the court of Vienna, haughtily pronounced, that the elector of Brandenburg would be put under the ban of the empire

empire in six months. Even the ministers of this prince were frightened at the sound of the Austrian name; but the king, who saw plainly that this power was at that time no more than a name, and that the state in which Europe then was, would infallibly procure him allies, marched his army into Silesia in the month of December 1740. They wanted to put this device on his standards, *Pro Deo & Patria*; but he struck out *Pro Deo*, saying, "That it was improper thus to intermix the name of God with the quarrels of men; and that his dispute was concerning a province, and not concerning religion." He ordered the Roman eagle in relieve to be fixed on the top of a gilded staff, and borne before his regiment of guards, a step which carried with it the appearance of his being necessarily invincible. He harangued his army, endeavouring in every respect to resemble the antient Romans. Entering Silesia, he made himself master of almost the whole province of which they had refused him a part; but nothing as yet was decided.

Marshal Neuperg marched an army of about twenty-four thousand Austrians to the relief of the invaded province; and the king of Prussia found himself under a necessity of coming to an engagement at Molwitz near the river Neiss. Then it was that the Prussian infantry shewed what they were able to perform: the king's cavalry, less strong by half than the Austrian, was entirely broken; the first line of his infantry was taken in flank; the battle was thought to be lost; all the king's baggage was pillaged, and this prince, in danger of being taken, was
carried

carried away by the croud that surrounded him : but his second line of infantry set every thing again to rights, by that unshaken discipline to which they are so well accustomed ; by their incessant fire, which is at least five times repeated in a minute, and by fixing their bayonets to their muskets in a moment. They gained the victory ; and this event became the signal of an universal combustion.



C H A P. III.

The king of France unites with the kings of Prussia and Poland to advance Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, to the imperial throne: that prince is declared a lieutenant general in the service of France: his election, his success, and very rapid losses.

WHEN the king of Prussia seized upon Silesia, all Europe imagined him in alliance with France. It was a mistake, which is often the case when we argue only from probabilities. The king of Prussia hazarded a great deal; this was his own acknowledgment: but he foresaw that France would not let slip so fair an opportunity of seconding him. It was the apparent interest of France to favour her old ally the elector of Bavaria, whose father had formerly lost all by befriending her against the house of Austria. After the battle of Hochstet, this very Charles Albert, elector of Bavaria, then in his infancy, was made prisoner by the Austrians, who stripped him even of his name of Bavaria. France found her account in avenging him. It seemed easy to procure for him at one and the same time the empire and a part of the Austrian succession. This was a step by which the new house of Austria-Lorraine would be deprived of that superiority which the old one affected to have over the other princes of Europe; it also abolished the old rivalry subsisting between the dependents of Bourbon and Austria; nay, it was

was doing more than ever Henry IV. or cardinal Richelieu had hoped to compass.

This revolution, the foundation of which was not yet laid, was foreseen in the very beginning by Frederick III. of Prussia, on his setting out for Silesia: it is so true, that he had not concerted any measures with cardinal Fleury, that the marquis de Beaveau, who was then at Berlin, whither he had been sent to compliment Frederic on his accession in the name of France, knew not, on the first motion of the Prussian troops, whether they were destined against France or Austria. King Frederic said to him, on the point of his setting out, "I believe I am going to play your game; if I throw aces, we will divide." This was the sole beginning of a negotiation then at a distance.

The French ministry hesitated for some time. Cardinal Fleury, then in his eighty-fifth year, was fearful of staking his reputation, his old age, and his country, on the hazard of a new war. The Pragmatic sanction, to which he had acceded, and authentically guaranteed, restrained him; yet he might have been encouraged to it by former treaties with Bavaria. It is certain, this war, at which they afterwards so warmly inveighed, was loudly demanded by Paris and Versailles. I heard a man of great distinction say, "Cardinal Richelieu pulled down the house of Austria, and Cardinal Fleury will, if he can, erect a new one." These words were carried to the minister's ears, and piqued him very sensibly; nor did he give up the grand point, until he found it impossible longer to oppose those who were for carrying it into execution.

caution. About the end of December, the cardinal gave instructions to the count de Belleisle to prepare a plan for negotiating in the empire the means of carrying on a war to fix the elector of Bavaria in the imperial throne, and secure to him part of the Austrian succession. The count demanded eight days to consider of it, and then produced his scheme, of which he caused three copies to be made out, one of which was for the cardinal, another for the deposit of foreign affairs, and the third for himself.

If there could be any dependence on the designs of men, never did the execution of any project appear more certain. The count, afterwards duke de Belleisle, demanded, that before the month of June fifty thousand French should have passed the Rhine, and march towards the Danube. He insisted that in this army there should be at least twenty thousand cavalry. He entered, as was always his custom, into a long detail about the means of marching and subsisting those troops; and repeated in every page, that he would rather do nothing than do things by halves. They had near six months to prepare for a revolution, which the king of Prussia had already begun in the midst of winter. Saxony seemed disposed to join with France and Prussia; the king of England, elector of Hanover, was to have been compelled to a neutrality by an army of forty thousand men in readiness to enter his German dominions on the side of Westphalia; while Belleisle's army was to have seconded Saxony, Prussia, and Bavaria, by advancing towards the Danube. The elector of Cologne
also

also attached himself to this interest, being that of his brother, the intended emperor. The old elector palatine, who ought to have obtained for his heirs the king of Prussia's renunciation of his rights to the duchies of Juliers and Bergues, and this under the protection of France, was, more than all the rest, desirous of seeing Bavaria mount the imperial throne. Every thing united to favour his election: he was to be assisted in seizing upon Austrian Suabia and Bohemia; for the imperial dignity alone would have been worth but little. This alliance was to join Spain, in order to put Don Philip, son of Philip V. and nearly related to Lewis XV. into possession of Parma and the Milanese. In a word, in 1741 they wanted in a part of Europe, as they had done in 1736, to make a partition of the empire. The same thing had been meditated by England and Holland, conjunctively with France, some time before the death of Charles II. king of Spain.

Marshal Belleisle was sent to the king of Prussia's camp at Frankfort, and to Dresden, to settle the vast projects which, from the concurrence of so many princes, seemed infallible. He in every thing agreed with that august monarch, who, writing of him, says, "He never saw an abler man, whether in council or the field." He went from him into Saxony, and gained there such an ascendancy over the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, that he marched his troops before the signing of the treaty. The marshal negotiated every where in Germany; he was the life and soul of that body, which was concerting means of bestowing empire and hereditary honours upon a prince who could

could do nothing of himself. France gave at one and the same time to the elector of Bavaria money, allies, votes, and armies. He had promised twenty-eight thousand of his own troops, yet could scarcely furnish twelve thousand, though assisted with French money. The king sent the army he had promised him; and by letters patent created him his general, whom he was about to give as head to the empire.

The elector of Bavaria, thus strengthened, easily penetrated into Austria, while Maria Theresa was scarcely able to oppose the king of Prussia. He soon made himself master of Passau, an imperial city governed by its bishop. This place separates the Upper Austria from Bavaria. He advanced as far as Lintz, the capital of Higher Austria, and some of his parties skirmished within three leagues of Vienna. The alarm spread, and threw that city into confusion; they prepared as quickly as possible against a siege; one whole suburb, and a palace bordering upon the fortifications, were entirely destroyed; the Danube was covered with vessels laden with valuable effects, which were removing to places of greater security. The elector of Bavaria even sent a summons to count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna.

England and Holland were at that time far from holding in their hands that ballance to which they had so long pretended. The states general viewed in silence marshal Maillebois's army, which was then in Westphalia; as did also the king of England, who was in some fears for the safety of his Hanoverian dominions, where he then resided. He had raised twenty-five thousand men to succour Maria Theresa

Theresa; and at the head of this very army, enlisted purposely to assist, he was obliged to abandon her, and sign a treaty of neutrality. His domestics were furnished with passports for themselves and their equipages by the French general to carry them to London, whither the king himself returned by the way of Westphalia and Holland. Not one of the princes, whether within the empire or without, at this time supported that Pragmatic Sanction, which so many of them had guaranteed. Vienna, poorly fortified on that side where it was threatened, could not have held out long. Those who were best acquainted with Germany, and the state of public affairs, looked upon the taking of Vienna as a certainty; whereby the assistance which Maria Theresa might otherwise have drawn from the Hungarians, would have been cut off, her dominions laid entirely open to the arms of the conqueror, all claims settled, and peace restored to the empire, and to Europe.

This princess seemed to grow more and more courageous in proportion as her ruin seemed to be inevitable. She had quitted Vienna, and threw herself into the arms of the Hungarians, whom her father and ancestors had treated with so much severity. Having assembled the four orders of the state at Presburg, she appeared in the midst of them, holding in her arms her eldest son, who was yet in his cradle, and addressing them in Latin, a language in which she expressed herself perfectly well, spoke nearly in these words: "Forsaken by my friends, persecuted by my enemies, attacked by my nearest relations, I have no resource but in your

your fidelity, your courage, and my own constancy; to your trust I surrender the daughter and son of your kings, who from you expect their safety." All the palatines, softened, yet animated by this short speech, drew their sabres, crying out at the same instant, "Let us die for our king Maria Theresa. *Pro rege nostro Maria Theresa moriamur.*" They always give the title of king to their queen; and never, in fact, did princesses better deserve that title. They shed tears in taking the oath to defend her; her eyes alone were dry: but when she withdrew with her maids of honour, those tears, which the greatness of her soul had hitherto suppressed, burst from her in abundance. She was at that time with child, and had written, not long before, to her mother-in-law, the duchess of Lorrain, these words, "I as yet know not whether I shall have a single town left, wherein to be brought to-bed."

In this condition she excited the zeal of the Hungarians; England and Holland roused in her behalf, and supplied her with money: she corresponded all through the empire; negotiated with the king of Sardinia, while her provinces furnished her with soldiers.

The whole kingdom of England was warmed in her favour: the English are not a people who wait to know their sovereign's opinion before they form theirs. A free gift for that princess was proposed by some private persons. The duchess of Marlborough, relict of that duke who had fought for Charles VI. assembled the principal ladies of London, whom she induced to advance for this cause an hundred

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thousand

thousand pounds sterling, forty thousand of which she laid down herself. The queen of Hungary had the firmness to decline accepting of the money thus generously offered, and to wait for such sums as might be granted to her by the nation, in parliament assembled. It was generally believed that the victorious armies of France and Bavaria would have advanced to the siege of Vienna. It is the opinion of the king of Prussia, that what the enemy fears should always be carried into execution. This siege was, however, not undertaken, and the enemy turned off towards Bohemia; perhaps it was because the season appeared too far advanced, or because it was intended to preserve a balance of power between the houses of Bavaria and Austria, by leaving Vienna and Hungary to the one, and the remainder of the German possessions to the other.

The French army, commanded by the elector of Bavaria, and strengthened with twenty thousand Saxons, marched towards Prague in the month of November 1741; and count Maurice of Saxony, natural brother to the king of Poland, took the place by escalade. This general, who inherited from his father his very extraordinary bodily strength, as well as all his valour and sweetness of temper, was moreover endued with the greatest talents for war. From his reputation only, he was, by the unanimous voice of the people, elected duke of Courland: but Russia, having deprived him of the benefit of an election, to which he was presented by a whole province, he consoled himself in the service of France, and the social pleasures of a
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nation, which was not as yet sufficiently acquainted with his merit *.

To form a proper idea of count Saxe's character, whose name will be delivered down to latest posterity, it is sufficient to observe, that being accused to the king of Prussia at this time of engaging in those petty disputes, which almost always divide the generals of the allied armies, he answered the charge in these words, addressed to general Schmittau: "Those who are acquainted with me, know that it is more my talent to break a lance in the field, than spin intrigues in a closet."

It was necessary that Prague should be taken in a few days, or the enterprize abandoned. They were in want of provisions; the season was far advanced; and the town, though but poorly fortified, could easily resist the first attacks. General Ogilvy, an Irishman by birth, commanded in the place, where he had a garrison of three thousand men. The grand duke of Tuscany marched with an army of thirty thousand men to its relief, November 25. He was already within five leagues of it, when the same night the French and Saxons made an assault upon the town. They made two attacks on one side, under cover of a desperate fire from

* The letter written by Maurice on this occasion to the king his father, who insisted upon his relinquishing his claim to Courland, notwithstanding he had been formally elected by the people, reflects equal honour upon his filial duty, his spirit, and his magnanimity. At all events he refused to abdicate, unless his subjects would absolve him from the oath he had taken to protect them; and offered to stand the shocks of the whole Russian empire, rather than suffer the least blemish upon his honour.

their artillery, whereby the whole garrison was drawn thither. In the mean time, count Saxe silently applied a ladder to the ramparts of the New Town, in a part very distant from the general scene of action; and the ladder not being long enough, they were obliged to make up the deficiency with hand-barrows. The first man that mounted was Mons. Chevert, then lieutenant-colonel of the regiment of Beauce: he was followed by marshal Bröglio's eldest son. They reached the ramparts, and found only one centinel at some distance; crowds soon followed their example, and they made themselves masters of the place. The whole garrison laid down their arms; and Ogilvy, with his three thousand men, surrendered prisoners of war. Count Saxe saved the town from being pillaged; and what was very extraordinary is, that the conquerors and the conquered were mixed together pell-mell for three days: French, Saxons, Bavarians, and Bohemians, walked the streets in common, without distinction, or the shedding a single drop of blood.

The elector of Bavaria, who was just come to the camp, wrote to the king an account of this success in such terms as a general would address to the prince whose armies he commanded. He made his public entry into the capital of Bohemia the same day on which it was taken, and was crowned in the month of December. In the mean time, the grand duke, finding subsistence fail in the quarters which he occupied, retired to the southern part of the province, and left the command of his army to his brother prince Charles of Lorrain. While these

these things were in agitation, the king of Prussia made himself master of Moravia, a province lying between Bohemia and Silesia; so that Maria Theresa seemed every where lost: her competitor had been crowned archduke of Austria at Lintz; he had been lately crowned king of Bohemia at Prague; from whence he went to Frankfort, and there was raised to the imperial throne, under the name of Charles VII. All the electors had put a negative upon the vote of Bohemia in choosing an emperor, while that province remained to the queen of Hungary, pretending it was not what a woman had a right to. The elector of Bavaria, now master of Prague, might have availed himself of it; but being under no necessity of so doing, suffered it to lie dormant.

Marshal Belleisle, who had followed him from Prague to Frankfort, appeared rather as one of the principal electors than the ambassador of France: he had managed all the votes, and directed every negotiation: he received all the honours due to the representative of a king, who had given away the imperial crown. The elector of Mentz, who presides at the election, gave him the right-hand in his own palace: the ambassador paid that compliment to electors only, taking place of all the other princes. His full instructions were sent to the German chancery in French, though it had heretofore required those pieces to be presented in the Latin tongue, as being the proper language of a government, which assumes the title and denomination of the Roman Empire. Charles Albert was elected in the most tranquil and solemn manner, on the 4th of January,

1742. One would have thought him covered with glory, and at the summit of happiness; but the scene changed soon, and his very elevation rendered him one of the most unfortunate princes upon earth.

The fault that had been committed by not providing a sufficient number of cavalry, began now to be felt. Marshal Belleisle lay sick at Frankfort; and could not besides, at the same time, conduct negotiations, and command an army at a distance. A misunderstanding began to gain ground among the allies; the Saxons complained much of the Prussians; the latter complained of the French; and they preferred complaints in their turn.

Maria Theresa was principally supported by her own magnanimity, and by the money of England, Holland, and Venice; by loans in Flanders; but, above all, by the desperate ardour of her troops, which she assembled from all quarters. The French army was destroyed by fatigue, sickness, and desertion: and was with difficulty recruited. The French did not find the same fortune as Gustavus Adolphus, who opened his campaign in Germany with less than ten thousand men; yet in a short time found his forces increased to thirty thousand, augmenting them in proportion as he advanced*.

The French army, which, on its entering Bohemia, should have amounted to forty-five thousand men, consisted, on its leaving France,

* The Swedish army under Gustavus Adolphus amounted to 26,000 horse and foot when he first landed in Germany.

of not more than thirty-two thousand, and in this number there was but eight thousand cavalry, whereas there ought to have been twenty thousand. Every day then weakened the French and strengthened the Austrian forces. Prince Charles of Lorrain, brother to the grand duke, was in the heart of Bohemia, at the head of thirty-five thousand effective men; and every where favoured by the inhabitants. He commenced a defensive war very successfully, keeping the enemy in a state of continual alarm, by cutting off their convoys, and harrassing them perpetually on every hand with crowds of Hussars, Croats, Pandours, and Talpaches. The Pandours are Sclavonians, inhabiting the banks of the Drave and the Save: they wear a long garment, and in their girdles stick several pistols, a sabre, and a poignard. The Talpaches are Hungarian infantry, armed with a fusée, two pistols, and a sabre. The Croats, called in France *Cravates*, are the militia of Croatia. The Hussars are Hungarian cavalry, mounted upon small horses, which are very light and hardy: they cut off posts that are weak, and not properly supported by cavalry, which was every where the case of the troops of France and Bavaria. The elector of Bavaria thought a small number of troops enough to preserve a vast extent of country, which he did not suppose the empress-queen in circumstances to retake. It is easy to condemn the operations of war when they are unfortunate; but these misfortunes are seldom foreseen: yet, for a long time past, Marshal Belleisle had foretold them in all his letters from Frankfort.

36 The HISTORY of

“ They have left troops, said he, in the Upper Austria, which will be infallibly cut off.” He wrote thus to Mons. Breteuil, then secretary of state in the war-department, the 17th of December 1741: “ I cannot help dwelling on this important subject: I assure you that the misfortune which I have so long foreseen, will inevitably happen: the first source of our misfortunes must arise from the mixture of nations among our soldiery, and their being scattered.” The marshal falling sick at Frankfort about the end of November, took immediate care to write to court, that it was necessary to send another general to take upon him the command of the armies. On the 8th of December, marshal Broglio, an old officer, bred under marshal Villars, and celebrated for many brave actions, set out for Strasburgh. On his arrival in Bohemia, he found the conquerors embarrassed with their acquisitions, and the Austrians possessed of all the posts in the southern parts of Bohemia. Upper Austria was guarded only by fifteen thousand Bavarians, and eight or nine thousand French. Count Khevenhuller, governor of Vienna, appeared suddenly in those quarters, with garrisons drawn from such towns as he left behind him, the troops recalled from Italy, and twenty thousand Hungarians. Lieutenant-general count de Segur was then at Lintz, an open town into which the elector of Bavaria had thrown about eight thousand men *. General

* Lintz is far from being an open town: it is the capital of Higher Austria, defended on the one side by the Danube, and on the other by a strong citadel, in which the emperors have sometimes sought refuge against the Turks. Geographers take it to be the ancient *Gesodunum*.

Khevenhuller

Khevenhuller advanced with thirty thousand fighting men, under command of the grand duke. Segur's only resource was then to retire; but the elector had commanded him to defend a post, which it was not possible for him to maintain. He baricadoed the place, and prepared to resist the most vigorous assaults, hoping, on the other hand, that some diversion would be made by the Bavarians; but the latter were defeated and dispersed; and, instead of succouring Lintz, they lost Scharding.

The grand duke now appeared in person before Lintz, and summoned the French to surrender prisoners of war: on their refusal, he caused his troops to enter the place sword in hand, and burned down a part of one of his own towns, to bury the French in its ruins. Mons. Duchatel, a lieutenant-general, who died lately with the highest character for valour, probity, and spirit, came to treat with him on the part of the besieged. The grand duke insisted on their surrendering prisoners of war. "Well then," said Duchatel, "since this is your resolution, begin again to burn the town, and we will begin to fire." The prince was softened, and allowed them to retire with the honours of war, on condition they did not serve again for a year.

The Hungarians, after this first success, immediately advanced, and retook Passau. They spread themselves over Bavaria on the Austrian side; while the Austrians entered it on the side of Tirol, and laid all waste from one end to the other. A partizan named Mentzel, known only by his brutality and depredations,

58 The HISTORY of

appeared suddenly before Munich with his hussars, and the capital of Bavaria surrendered to his summons. All these events followed rapidly each other, while the French prepared at Frankfort for the coronation of the elector of Bavaria. In short, the very day he was elected emperor, he received the account of the loss of Lintz; and was soon convinced, that he was left without capital or dominion.



CHAP.

C H A P. IV.

The relation of the emperor Charles VIIth's misfortunes continued. The battle of Sahay. The French are forsaken by the Prussians, and afterwards by the Saxons. Marshal Maillebois' army make a fruitless march into Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle preserves the army at Prague.

FORTUNE now declared herself as much an enemy to the Bavarian emperor in Bohemia, as in Upper Austria and Bavaria: the aspect of things was the more melancholy in three months time, because his affairs in Bohemia looked well; and, from the superiority of his allies, there was great probability of their being able to restore him to his dominions; for on the one side count Saxe had taken Egra, and thus the two extreme boundaries of Bohemia were maintained; on the other, Prince Charles, having given battle to the king of Prussia near Czaflaw, in the heart of Bohemia, into which he had penetrated with his army, was totally defeated.

The Saxons were also in a condition to second the king, and to assist in preserving the conquests which had been made for the common cause by the French armies conjunctly with them. In the midst of these apparent advantages, marshal Belleisle, being recovered from his indisposition, hastened to the French army at Frankfort, commanded by marshal Broglio, and encountered the Austrians at Sahay, near Frauemberg, on the road to Prague.

These two generals differed in opinion, but were reunited by their zeal for the service. They lay that night on a mattrass, and on the succeeding day fought one of the most sharp and glorious battles that had been known during the whole war, if glory may be said to be annexed to small events, happily conducted, and boldly supported, as well as to more decisive actions. Six hundred carabineers and three hundred dragoons, led by the marquis de Mirepoix and the duke de Chevreuse, attacked and routed a body of two thousand five hundred cuirassiers, commanded by prince Lobkowitz, though they were advantageously posted, and made a gallant defence. The duke de Chevreuse was wounded in three places. The duke de Broglie and all the officers gave to the soldiery a noble example, particularly M. de Malefieux, major of the carabineers, who drew them up in a manner that contributed much to the success of the day. The count de Berenger, at the head of the brigade of Navarre, did very signal service. This was not a great battle, but rather a trial of skill between the French and the Austrian generals, in which each combatant shewed prodigies of valour; and if it could not give great superiority to the French arms, it might at least have enhanced their reputation: but it was to no purpose; and they should have foreseen, that, notwithstanding all their apparent success, the pit was dug into which they were ready to fall.

The king of Prussia, dissatisfied with marshal Broglie, wrote to him a very haughty letter after the battle of Czaflaw; and added, with his own hand, this postscript: "I am quit with my allies; for my troops have just obtained
a complete

a complete victory : it is your duty to make the best use of it out of hand, otherwise you may be responsible for it to YOUR allies."

It is scarcely possible to comprehend what he means by those words : " I am quit with MY allies." Marshal Broglie, in writing home to the prime-minister, observes, that the king of Prussia might have expressed himself more obligingly ; but that he did not understand French : he understood it well, and his meaning was clear.

This monarch remained inactive after his victory at Czaſlaw, and they could not conceive what his conduct imported. No advantages were reaped from the little affair at Sahay, and at length subsistence began to fail. There are instances in which the too great distance of a magazine, or the scarcity of one article of provisions, may occasion the loss of a kingdom. The arrival of the recruits expected from France was too late. The troops under marshal Broglie were so much diminished, that only twelve thousand men could be mustered at a review of forty-six battalions, which ought to have amounted to thirty thousand men.

The rest of the army was scattered ; while prince Charles of Lorrain, and prince Lobkowitz, reunited their forces. To add to the misfortune, there was but little agreement between the French generals, as well as between those of the allies. Had the Prussians acted conjunctly with the French and Saxons, it is certain, that being possessed of Prague, Egra, and all the Northern Bohemia, victorious at Czaſlaw and Sahay, they might have remained masters of Bohemia. Marshal Belleisle, to
7 whom

whom the king of Prussia wrote daily with the most entire confidence, and rather like a friend than a king, waited upon that monarch in his camp, on the 5th of June, in order to concert with him what was to be done for the common cause. The king spoke thus to him: "I give you warning that prince Charles is advancing towards marshal Broglie; and that if proper advantages are not drawn from the affair at Sahay, I shall make a separate peace for myself." In a word, a treaty between him and the queen of Hungary had been for near a year on the point of conclusion; the negotiations had been renewed at Breslau and the Hague; the articles were at length settled, and nothing was wanting but to sign them. The only and best method of preserving an ally, is to be always strong enough to do without him; but marshal Broglie's army was so far from being in this happy situation, that it daily decreased by sickness and desertion.

They were forced to abandon all their posts, one after another; they daily lost their provisions and ammunition, of which part was pillaged by our own soldiers, and part carried off by the enemy. Prince Charles passed the Moldaw, in pursuit of a body of troops under monsieur d'Aubigné, who retreated in disorder; he followed the French to Thein, to Piseck, and from Piseck to Pilsen, and thence to Beraun: these retreats cost the French at least as many men as a battle, and besides contributed to dispirit the troops. They were perpetually harrassed in their precipitate marches by the hussars, their baggage pillaged, and every Frenchman that chanced to stray from his corps

corps was massacred without mercy. During this disorder of so many detached bodies every where flying before the enemy, marshal Broglie saved his army by making a resolute stand against the army of prince Charles, with about ten thousand men, by putting a deep river between them, stealing a march, and, at length, having collected all his forces, retiring towards Prague. This manœuvre was admirable, but did not at all restore his affairs. During the time that he was making so many efforts to prevent his being cut off by the united armies of prince Charles of Lorraine and prince Lobkowitz, he was abandoned by the king of Prussia. The first disgraces of the French arms in Bavaria and Bohemia gave rise to the treaty, the latter occasioned its being signed on the 11th of June 1742. The king of Prussia had, at a very proper opportunity, taken up arms to make an easy conquest of Silesia; and he was now willing, at as proper a time, to lay them down, in order to keep the largest and richest part of that province as far as the river Neiss.

The queen of Hungary, who, fifteen months before, might have prevented the war, and put the imperial crown upon the head of her husband, besides being supplied with troops and money at the king of Prussia's expence, by only giving up a part of that province, now thought herself very happy in ceding to Prussia much more than he had then demanded, and got nothing in return. She also parted with the county of Glatz to him; and if she did not secure him as an ally, she was, however, for some time freed from a formidable opponent.

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The emperor was abandoned by this treaty, and not the slightest mention made of France. Saxony, by one of the articles of peace, was to be comprized therein, provided that their forces separated from the French within sixteen days, reckoning from the time of signing the treaty.

The Saxon army withdrew long before the stipulated term. The French remained alone the protectors of the emperor, and were the only troops exposed to danger. His only asylum was Frankfort, where he had been crowned. In vain did marshal Belleisle, though in a bad state of health, post from the Prussian camp to the court of Dresden; in vain did marshal Broglio assemble his troops, considerably recruited: there was but little subordination in his army; they saw themselves in a strange country, without allies or assistance; they had prince Charles to contend with, who commanded a superior army, and was beloved by his people. The advantage of speaking the language of the country in which a war is carried on is also very great; they receive quicker intelligence, and oftener. The national troops are favoured always, and foreigners betrayed. There was also another inconvenience, which is alone sufficient to destroy an army, and even a state. Marshal Belleisle, who arrived about the end of June from Dresden at Prague, had a commission as general in Bohemia; and marshal Broglio, who, at Prague, had under him part of the battalions destined for Bavaria, insisted on keeping the chief command, as his right, being the oldest marshal. Thus here were two generals, and the principal officers did

did not know which they were to obey. Cardinal Fleury continued marshal Belleisle in the command. The king's service did not, however, suffer from things remaining in this dangerous and doubtful situation, which is yet more rare than this division of authority.

The French, deserted as they were, saw themselves still possessed of the most important place of all their conquests. But while Bohemia was the theatre of these revolutions, the Hungarians lived in the capital of Bavaria, of which they were masters, with all the licentiousness and cruelty of an unbridled soldiery. The town was ransomed; yet the neighbouring villages were ravaged, and the people reduced to a state of desperation. The king of France did not abandon the emperor; he maintained him in possession of Prague and Egra; the duke of Harcourt, with fifteen thousand men, advanced to succour Bohemia; this diversion proved, for a very short while, the deliverance of Munich.

The Austrian general Khevenhuller having drawn together his forces, marched out of Munich, even so soon as the month of April. The inhabitants, who were highly incensed against them, rose upon and slew several of them at the very instant of their quitting the place; then shut the gates, though it was almost an open town, and entrenched themselves. But, in a few days afterwards, they were obliged to surrender for the second time, and to give up their arms. This cost several of the citizens their lives, who were slain by the Pandours; others saved themselves by sacrificing part of their private property. The Bavarian troops
were

were always beaten ; the duke of Harcourt, with great difficulty, maintained himself on the banks of the Danube, against a superior enemy. The eyes of all Europe were now turned upon Prague ; the two French marshals being reinforced, had got together in the town, or under the walls, after so many disasters, twenty-eight thousand men. June 27, 1742, prince Charles of Lorraine appeared before the place, with forty-five thousand men, besides eighteen thousand Hungarians under general Festitz, who advanced to him from Silesia, where they had been before employed, and whom the peace with the king of Prussia left at liberty to march wherever their sovereign's service required.

An army of sixty thousand fighting men had never before been seen laying siege to one of twenty eight thousand ; but the more numerous the garrison, and the more populous the town, the greater reason was there to expect that provisions and ammunition should fail. The queen left nothing undone which she thought might contribute to the retaking of her capital. She gave all the horses in her stable to draw the artillery and stores : her example was followed by her nobles, and they paid the waggoners for theirs in ready money. The hope of this court seemed to rise in proportion as she was exhausted.

The queen had made up an Amazonian dress, in which she proposed to enter Prague on horse back, at the head of her victorious army ; nay, so sure were they through all her dominions, that Prague must in a short time be taken, that an Aultrian general in the Low Countries sent a servant from Brussels to Prague,
on

on purpose that he might bring him the earliest account of the surrender of the place.

The French minister ordered marshal Belleisle to offer to evacuate the place to the Austrians, provided that all the French troops in Bohemia were permitted to withdraw; and that, on the other hand, all the Austrian troops should retire out of Bavaria. This proposition seemed the preliminary of a general peace: but it was far from being agree to by the besiegers; for at their second conference, marshal Königsegg declared to marshal Belleisle, that the queen his mistress absolutely hoped to make the whole French army prisoners of war. In Prague every thing began to fail but courage: about the end of July meat sold there for four livres a pound; horse flesh was eaten at the very best tables; and, through scarcity of forage, they were forced to kill or abandon upwards of fourteen thousand horses to the enemy. The dukes of Birón, Chevreuse, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Fleury, count Clermont de Tonnerre, brigadier general of horse, M. de Sechelles, intendant of the army, sent their plate to the mint of Prague to be coined for the subsistence of the officers and soldiers.

It was the unhappy fate of the French at Prague to find themselves far distant from their own country, among a people to whose language they were strangers, and by whom they were hated; to be exposed to every kind of necessity, without any certainty of assistance, and to have no other subject of conversation than past mistakes and present dangers. One hundred pieces of cannon, and thirty-six mortars, were fired upon their entrenchments; but
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the Austrians, not having one good engineer among them, their works were but indifferently conducted; the trenches were too long and too large, and the French reaped some advantages from their errors; they made daily sallies, but the most memorable was that of the 22d of August: it was in reality a battle. Twelve thousand of the besieged attacked the besiegers, carried a battery of cannon, made two hundred prisoners, filled up the works, took general Monty, killed fifteen hundred men, and wounded two thousand. In this engagement, the duke of Biron, the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, and the prince de Beauveau, were wounded. The marquis de Tessé, first equerry to the queen, and his lieutenant-colonel, were killed near each other. The marquis de Clermont, colonel of the regiment d'Auvergne, the marquis de Molac, colonel of Berry, lost their lives at the same time.

This memorable action was dearly purchased, but threw the Austrians into such astonishment that they dared not afterwards carry on any of their feeble works, which scarcely deserved to be stiled fortifications: they contented themselves with firing ineffectually from their batteries, but made no breach. The place might rather be said to be invested than besieged; yet it was apparent, that in the end, the entire loss of the French, both in Prague and Egra, must be inevitable: there was but one way to relieve them, which was to send to their succour that army of about forty thousand men, which, under the command of marshal Maillebois, had obliged the king of England to sign an apparent neutrality,

neutrality, and at the same time awed both Holland and Hanover : but this army was about two hundred leagues from Prague. This expedient was proposed by the marquis de Fénélon, ambassador in Holland. It had its inconveniencies, but was not yet without its advantages. France can easily raise and subsist three hundred thousand men for ten years, without being drained, yet now there were scarce twenty thousand men in the heart of that kingdom ; so that they were in the most perplexed situation. They had, at different intervals, sent into Germany the better part of two hundred and twelve squadrons, and one hundred and seventeen battalions, and these had been from time to time recruited : these troops, divided in Prague, Egra, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, were above half wasted away. Count Saxe, who at that time commanded in Germany, wrote word to court, that he had not an hundred and fifty men left to a battalion.

In order to succour and disengage these dispersed, weakened, and almost annihilated armies, it was debated to march towards the complete and flourishing army of marshal Maillebois, composed of forty-one battalions and sixty-five squadrons, three thousand Palatines, three thousand Hessians, and three independent companies of foot, and two of dragoons. It was obvious, that if all these forces united had acted with unanimity, and been assisted by Prussia and Saxony, they must have in every thing succeeded. If marshal Maillebois had advanced with his army along the banks of the Rhine, to penetrate into Bohemia, he had left France unguarded ; so that even the Dutch might have
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become formidable, and harrassed the frontiers with forty thousand men. The oldest and ablest generals were consulted upon this head. Marshal de Puisegur represented the difficulties and dangers of the proceeding, all which M. Noailles admitted; but yet insisted on the necessity of it. Marshal d'Asfeldt was also of the same opinion; and the king determined upon it, however hazardous, because necessary, convinced that great undertakings cannot be executed, without risking great losses. But the route and manner in which this army was to be conducted, still embarrassed them extremely.

The emperor Charles would have been glad that they were employed in his electoral dominions, where he himself had commanded them. He represented in writing, that, by delivering Bavaria, Prague would be set free; the siege of which the Austrians must infallibly raise, as soon as this army should reach the banks of the Danube: but the French ministry could never think of putting their only resource into the hands of an emperor, who had been so little able to defend himself. Cardinal Fleury wrote to dissuade him from it, in his letter, dated August the 19th. The only reason which he alleges, is couched in these terms: "Would it become an emperor to appear at the head of our armies, without an equipage suited to his dignity?" This was a strange reason, and was far from corresponding with the king of France's allowing six millions yearly to his imperial majesty. Marshal Maillebois's inclination was to march his army to the succour of Bavaria, because he there expected to find greater plenty of provisions than on the barren defiles of Bohemia.

nia. Marshal de Puisegur, seeing it was absolutely necessary that this army should march, thought their direction at least ought to be suited to the opinion of Marshal Maillebois : but the favourite object of entering Bohemia prevailed. The intention of the cardinal was, that this auxiliary army should inspire with spirit the rest of the kings troops, while, in the mean time, he might try every method of making peace.

He felt the pulse of George II. whom he had, the preceding year, compelled to remain neuter in a cause which the English had much at heart. He had some hopes from this negotiation ; but the time for it was elapsed. The celebrated Sir Robert Walpole, who, in England, had guided the helm under the kings George I. and II. had been obliged, by the clamours of the people, to resign his employments, because he was of a pacific disposition. His greatest enemies agree, that never minister had better supported those great trading companies, which are the basis of the English credit ; and none knew the art of managing the parliament better : but his best friends cannot deny, that he had applied the treasure of the nation to securing a constant majority in parliament, which no minister had ever done before him : he made no secret of this himself ; and the author of these memoirs has heard him say, " I am master of a drug that will effectually correct all evil humours : it is sold only at my shop." These words, which convey no idea either of wit or elevated stile, are expressive of his character. War had never been his taste : he always thought it would be the period of his power. " I can answer for it, said he, that I can govern
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the parliament in time of peace: I cannot undertake to do so in time of war." Cardinal Fleury had often taken advantage of his timidity, and thereby preserved the superiority in negotiating. This was laid to Walpole's charge by his enemies: incessant were the complaints still made against him for having so long delayed to declare war against Spain. To endeavour preserving peace to a trading nation is surely a strange sort of crime.

His enemies were not only the Tories, who always were directly opposite to the Whigs, but a conjunction of both, equally discontented, because they chose to be so *. This faction was denominated *the country party*; a kind of division not unlike that which has almost always subsisted in Poland, and been lately set on foot in Sweden; for in all countries, jealousies and complaints are raised against the ministry; and if, in absolute monarchies, they evaporate into empty murmurs, yet, in mixed governments, they become real factions. The country party complained highly, that George II. had, by his treaty of neutrality, sacrificed the glory of Great Britain to the preservation of Hanover †, and laid the whole blame upon Walpole, the then minister, who had no share in this necessary,

* Had M. de Voltaire understood the nature of this opposition as well as he pretends to understand it, he would have assigned a more substantial reason; which, indeed, was no other than a sense of national grievances, that had arisen from a corrupt ad——st——.

† They complained, that ever since the accession of George I. the interests of England had been sacrificed to those of H——. But their loudest complaints were founded on the minister's passive behaviour, with respect to the Spanish depredations.

unpremeditated treaty, which was entered into only to be broke. Long before this treaty, they had attacked him in parliament. Mr. Sandys, then a member of the house of commons, told him openly, on the 23d of February 1741, "Get yourself ready, for I shall impeach you in three days." "I accept the challenge, answered he, provided we fight honourably;" and, at the same time, repeated this line from Horace :

Nil conscire sibi, nulla palefcere culpa ?

On the very day fixed, his accuser moved the house of commons to petition the king to remove Sir Robert Walpole for ever from his council and presence: at the same time, a motion of a similar nature was made by Lord Carteret in the house of peers. The question was put, and debated in each house till midnight. Never was there a piece of more manifest injustice than this, of endeavouring to bring a man to punishment, before there were proofs that he had deserved it. Yet that which does not always happen, was at this time the case: the justest party carried it in both houses, and Walpole as yet kept his ground *. But the seven years, during which the English house of commons subsisted, being now at an end, and new representatives chosen, whereby the country party was considerably strengthened, the minister, who had for twenty years supported himself against so many enemies, found it time for him to retire. The king created him a peer

* For how long time? the motion was made in the latter end of February, and Sir Robert made his retreat by the middle of the next month.

of Great Britain, under the title of Earl of Orford; and three days afterwards he resigned all his employments. His enemies still proceeded against him legally: they insisted upon his accounting for thirty millions of French livres, said to have been expended in secret services during the term of ten years; and in this sum were included one million two hundred thousand livres, said to have been given to the political writers, and other persons who had employed their pens in favour of the ministry. The king, provoked at this accusation, evaded it by adjourning the parliament *; that is, suspended its sitting for some time by virtue of his royal prerogative.

That very lord Carteret who had accused Walpole in the house of peers, was now in the highest credit: he was employed by the king to convince the people he was in reality as much inclined to war as they were: thus he favoured their passions to strengthen his government.

Lord Carteret had been formerly secretary of state, then lord-lieutenant of Ireland: he was one of the most learned men in England, spoke several of the living languages fluently, but more particularly French and Spanish: he was bold and artful, active, indefatigable, and occasionally prodigal of public money: he was as much disposed, through taste and inclination, to war, as Walpole had been to peace: he did not succeed this minister in his post, which was that of high-treasurer, under a different deno-

* The progress of the inquiry was stopped by the apostacy of those who had been most clamorous in the opposition to Sir R——'s administration.

mination; but resumed his former employment of secretary of state for the northern department; and was in higher estimation than the now earl of Orford had ever been *.

The cardinal made him some overtures for an accommodation, and even went so far as to propose that he should be the mediator; but lord Carteret only answered by engaging the parliament to raise supplies, to enable the king to levy troops; to take into his pay those of Hanover; to hire forces from Denmark and Hesse, who are always ready to sell their men to either side; to augment the queen of Hungary's subsidies; to purchase the alliance of Sardinia; to conduct a conspiracy at Naples; and to send fleets into the Mediterranean and America: he also proposed to procure for the king of England in Germany the cession in full property of the bishoprics of Osnabrug and Hildesheim; and, in fine, to make his master arbitrator in both hemispheres.

While, on the one hand, the cardinal thus addressed the British court, whose tone was very imperious, he applied, on the other, to the general who besieged Prague: he wrote a letter, dated July 11, to field-marshal Königseck, and it was delivered to him by Marshal Belleisle, in which he excuses himself from having consented to the present war; and says he had been hurried out of his own measures. "Many people," such are his own words, "know how firmly I

* This surely was not the case. No minister since the revolution had equalled Sir Robert in power and influence. As to lord C——t, his authority was so ill established, that in a few years after this period he was compelled to resign by his subordinates in the ad——n.

opposed the resolutions we have taken; and that I was as it were compelled to acquiesce with them. Your excellency is too well acquainted with all that passed, not to guess at the man who left nothing undone to determine the king to enter into a league very contrary to my liking, and my principles." The queen of Hungary only answered by causing the cardinal's letter to be printed. It was easy to see the ill effects this letter must have produced. In the first place, he threw evidently the whole blame of the war upon the very general who was commissioned to negotiate with Count Königseck; and to render his person odious, was not the way to make his negotiation successful: secondly, it plainly acknowledged a weakness in the ministry; and he must have a very slender knowledge of mankind, who could not foresee advantage would be taken of this weakness; that it would inspire the allies of France with indifference, and give her enemies more courage.

The cardinal, finding his letter made public, wrote a second, in which he complains of this publication to the Austrian general; and says, "He shall not hereafter be so forward in writing to him." This second letter did him more hurt than the first: he disavowed them both in the public papers; and this disavowal, whereby nobody was deceived, crowned all those imprudent proceedings, which less severe judges will be apt to excuse in an old man, aged 87, and perplexed with a series of ill success. At length the emperor offered proposals for a peace to the court of London, and particularly referred to secularising the two bishoprics above-mentioned, in favour of Hanover. The English minister

minister did not look upon the emperor's interposition in the least necessary towards obtaining these bishoprics. His proposals were insulted by being made public. The emperor was under a necessity of disavowing his offers of a peace, as Fleury had been compelled to disown the war.

The dispute now grew warmer than ever: France on the one hand, and England on the other, under the name of auxiliaries, tho' principals in fact, strove to hold the balance of Europe sword in hand. In spring, 1742, the court of England marched into Flanders sixteen thousand English troops, as many Hanoverians, and six thousand Hessians, which, united to about fifteen thousand Austrians, made up a formidable army. They were commanded by the earl of Stair, an officer who had been formerly bred under the great duke of Marlborough, and who in 1715 had been ambassador to France.

England endeavoured, before she should strike a blow, to engage Holland to take part in the dispute; but the states general rigidly adhered to their treaty, which obliged them only to supply the queen of Hungary with money: nothing could induce them, at this time, to furnish troops. Holland was divided into two parties; one was for preserving peace, the other breathed nothing but war. There was, however, a third, as yet but little known, who wished for a change in the government by advancing a stadtholder; but this party, though acquiring strength daily, did not dare openly to declare itself before the other two. The love of liberty still prevailed over the obligations they had to the blood of the Nassaus, and over the intrigues of

the prince of Orange. These principles, this division of people's minds, that dilatoriness common to all republics when their danger is not very pressing; all these reasons united to prevent the Dutch from joining their forces to those of the queen of Hungary and king of Great Britain.

The parties which divided the republic seemed rather to arise from difference in opinion, than influence in faction. That turbulent spirit, which, in circumstances not very dissimilar, had excited the people to massacre the De Witts, seemed no longer to subsist: the grandson of the pensionary De Witt, as averse to war as he was, went quietly on foot to council. They never had one tumultuous debate; but then they had no one fixed project; and when the states had taken the resolution to augment their forces at all hazards with twenty thousand men, not one of the regency as yet knew whether or no they were determined for war.

Lord Carteret arrived at the Hague to forward this measure: lord Stair, who commanded the English army at Brussels, also set out for that place, to influence the Dutch in the same cause: the duke d'Arenberg, not less eager than these, added his vague solicitations. Lord Stair was strong enough to penetrate, without their assistance, into France: his army, including the Austrians, amounted to eighty thousand fighting men, with which his intention was to have seized upon Dunkirk; the fortifications of which were very weak on the land side, owing to the sandy nature of the soil. It is certain that France was in pain for this town; for the fortifications of its harbour, according to the
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loud and incessant representations of the English at the Hague, had been restored; and they cried out for vengeance on account of this pretended infraction of the treaty of Utrecht. Marshal de Puisegur advised cardinal Fleury to sequester the place into the hands of the Dutch, until a peace was concluded: a proposal so frank, at the same time that it was very artful, ought to have engaged the Dutch to act as mediators, and never to have declared themselves enemies to France.

This proposal was made to them by the marquis de Fenelon; but the English party, tho' it had not sufficient authority to force Holland into a war, had yet weight enough to hinder them from accepting of an honour, whereby they must have been necessarily obliged to remain neuter. In the mean time, these things could not have hindered the allied army at Brussels from entering France: but the king of England wanted to temporise, and to wait the absolute determination of Holland: which was one of the greatest mistakes that had been made during the war. I was myself a witness of the astonishment and grief of lord Stair, who said the king his master had missed an opportunity which would never offer itself again. Nothing was then done either in Flanders or on the Rhine. The general attention was fixed upon Bohemia. The marshals Broglie and Belleisle were still masters of Prague, and still besieged. Marshal de Maillebois's army marched through Westphalia, Franconia, and the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, to their assistance. Prince Charles, on receiving the news of this march,

turned the siege of Prague into a blockade, and hastened to the defence of Bohemia.

It was about this time that a partizan named Trenk, at the head of a number of Pandours, Talpashes, and Croats, seized upon Chamb, a little town on the frontiers of the Upper Palatinate, which still held out for the emperor. He put all the inhabitants to the sword; and after having abandoned the place to be pillaged, and appropriated to himself three hundred thousand florins, which had been therein deposited, he reduced the town to ashes. This same banditti meeting with a convoy of sick French, guarded by a few soldiers, massacred both soldiers and sick, without distinction. During the whole war, the Hungarian irregulars behaved every-where with the same sort of savage ferocity.

All France dreaded the same fate for both Prague and Egra; but they had great hopes from the army of marshal Maillebois. The news of the siege of the former being raised, and turned into a blockade, gave new spirits to the court of Frankfort. The emperor enjoyed a transitory satisfaction from being presented, by the prince des Deux-Ponts, brother to the reigning duke, with some standards taken from the Austrians in the different sallies made from the place, which were indeed rather so many real battles, and in which that prince had particularly signalized himself. At length this auxiliary army arrived on the frontiers of Bohemia about the beginning of September: every thing hitherto had been happily conducted: count Saxe was to join this army with the body
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He commanded in Bavaria, which did not really amount to more than twenty-seven thin battalions and thirty squadrons; but these were a considerable addition to the new army. Count Saxe, who had already the character of an officer who let no opportunity that offered slip him, had just escaped from Bavaria, where count Khevenhuller had held him, as it were, shut up; and, by a dexterous march, was advancing towards the frontiers of Bohemia on the one hand, while Broglio approached them on the other.

The duke de Harcourt, with a detachment from count de Saxe's troops, had already taken the little town of Plan, on the western extremity of Bohemia, and made therein four hundred prisoners of war. Count de Saxe, after having evacuated Plan, and taken another post called Elnbogen, joined the grand army. They were soon after in sight of the Austrians, and might have given them battle; but it was a hazardous step; for, had they been beaten, they had neither retreat nor certainty of subsistence. The minister had written twice in these terms to M. Maillebois: "Avoid hazarding the honour of the king's army; and come to no engagement, the success of which can be in the least doubtful."

There was not only an impossibility of coming to an action with absolute certainty of success; but also, the enemy having plundered a magazine, the difficulty of obtaining subsistence daily increased. There was an intention of opening a road towards Prague, by the way of Caden, on the river Eger, and leaving Egra and Elnbogen behind them: were they once posted at Caden,

the road to Prague seemed free, and provisions might have been easily received from Saxony. Moreover, marshal Broglio had posted the marquis d'Armentieres with some troops at Leutmeritz. Leutmeritz is a small town, lying half way between Caden and Prague; and here the Eger falls into the Elbe. Every thing depended upon the post of Caden; and at Paris this important military operation exhausted all their conjectures and remarks. Never was the conduct of generals censured with more precipitation and severity; and it has ever since been questioned, whether or no the troops were ever at Caden.

I here present you with a detail of the fact, as it has been incontestibly declared by the general himself. It may, perhaps, be of little consequence to posterity: at present, however, it is interesting. October the 22d, count Saxe detached some troops towards Caden, to break down the bridge upon the Eger, over which the enemy might have passed. One independent company had already entered the place, and broke down the bridge: the Austrians came up, almost in the same instant, repaired the bridge, and made themselves masters of the town. Thus was all communication cut off between the armies of marshal Broglio and M. Maillebois. The latter could receive no accounts from Leutmeritz; and the only road to Caden led through a defile, which it seemed impossible to penetrate. Bohemia is surrounded by a chain of craggy mountains, through which there are only some narrow passes or defiles, in which an hundred men may put a whole army to a stand. They had only bread enough left to
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last till the 24th of October; so that M. Maillebois was obliged to reduce the soldiers to half allowance, by giving them only a quarter of a pound of meat a-piece. They attempted to pass the defile of Caden; but found it impracticable to bring up the artillery. The waggoners deserted: their places were supplied by soldiers; but their progress was not in the least quickened. Discontent, want of discipline, misunderstanding, desertion, every thing conspired against their march.

A council of war was held on the 17th of October, and all the general officers declared for retreating: count d'Etrées, who was in Egra, sent his opinion in writing: "For my part, said he, we must either assemble all our forces and fight, or else proceed no farther: we have no alternative." The rest advised, what had often been proposed before their march into Bohemia, to turn off towards the Danube, and thereby alarm Austria. Thus the army could hardly set foot in Bohemia; but fatigued and diminished by a long and painful march, they returned towards Bavaria. It was, however, better for that electorate to have these new troops, which, joined to those of count Saxe, amounted to upwards of fifty thousand fighting men. The court sent M. Broglie to command them.

This general passed through Saxony, with five hundred horse, November 12: he arrived at Nuremberg, and at Deggendorf in Bavaria, on the 22d, where he took upon him the command of the army. Marshal Belleisle remained at Prague, where he engaged the close attention of the Austrians. The auxiliary army,

now of consequence, was superior in Bavaria. Munich was a second time relieved, and the emperor entered it again. That prince had still between ten and twelve thousand men. They were masters of the Danube for upwards of thirty leagues; that is to say, from Ulm almost to Passau. In Bohemia they still kept Egra and Prague; and the little circle of Leutmeritz, between Prague and Saxony, was still in their hands. The affairs of the emperor might have been re-established; but Leutmeritz was soon after taken, and marshal Belleisle found himself shut up in Prague, together with his whole army, now reduced to about seventeen thousand men, without money, subsistence, or hope of succour: he had nothing to hope, but from himself, and the good disposition of his officers, who none of them fell short of what he expected. In a letter, dated October 8, he says, "I cannot, on this occasion, sufficiently praise the zeal of the dukes de Chevreuse and Fleury, and the marquis de Surgeres, who sold every thing they had left to remount the dragoons."

Marshal Belleisle, seconded by his brother, brought provisions into Prague, opened the passes, beat the enemy's parties, and kept them at least six leagues distance all round him; he established an exact police in the town; and, what was not the smallest of his labours, caused an exact discipline to be observed among his troops.

When we examine the memoirs of this siege, and see the extremities to which they were reduced, the loud and incessant complaints among the troops, the series of disappointments,

appointments, their want, and the accumulated miseries whereby they were discouraged, it is astonishing to think whence this general could draw his resources. M. de Sechelles wanted money, and yet he never let the hospitals want. In this place the most immediate assistance was necessary: above twenty soldiers died daily, one after another, during the whole month of June. These and many other losses presented themselves continually to the minds of the soldiers, terrified with their present evils, and a prospect of what were to come, which imagination never fails to heighten considerably.

They were thus cruelly situated in the month of November, when the ministry ordered marshal Belleisle to attempt the evacuation of Prague, even in sight of the army that blockaded it. The general wrote word, that he had taken such measures as enabled him to obey any orders that might be given him, and he would undertake to hold out four months longer, in case he were commanded to do so; but if the ministry thought it more expedient that he should withdraw with his troops out of Prague, he would conduct them in safety to Egra, in spite of the enemy's army, and the extreme rigour of the season. The court preferred the latter proceeding, and it was accordingly carried into execution: during the blockade this general had remounted his cavalry; his dragoons were formed out of the artillery horses; he had covered waggons to carry provisions; he wanted for no manner of conveniency; but the danger was extreme.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz had distributed his army in such a manner that they surrounded the town; the inhabitants of which were so many spies on the motions of the French. In the mean time, the weather grew daily more cold, and became almost intolerable. There were upwards of two thousand soldiers sick in the place, and the marshal himself had been a long while in so bad a state of health, that he could not mount on horseback; yet, in the midst of all these conspiring obstacles, he fixed on the night of the 16th or 17th of December, 1742, to make his retreat. In order to secure it more effectually, it was incumbent on him not only to deceive prince Lobkowitz, but also the inhabitants of the place, and his own people: to this end, he was continually sending detachments all around him to bring in forage, which were always accompanied with cannon and covered waggons; so that the surprize should be less when he chose to evacuate the place, which must be done with such an equipage. Two days before his retreat he laid contributions payable in four months. The day of his intended departure, the gates of the town were kept shut; and having caused a report to be spread, that he was to sally out and make an expedition on such a quarter, he made his retreat by another road; whereby he gained upon prince Lobkowitz a march of twenty-four hours, keeping his people all the while in order of battle, and followed sometimes by thirty pieces of cannon, according as the enemy chanced to present themselves. He forced their quarters, repulsed their cuirassiers, and opened for himself, with a body of eleven thousand

thousand infantry, and two thousand five hundred horse, a passage through the country, that had been entirely unknown. The retreat was continued for ten days through ice and snow. The enemy's cavalry harrassed them perpetually on their march, appearing always somewhere either in front, rear, or flank, and were continually repulsed : could they have possessed themselves of the provisions, Belleisle's whole army had been destroyed.

To prevent this misfortune, his corps marched in five divisions, each of which had under its care its respective share of provision and ammunition. On the third day prince Lobkowitz appeared at the head of a body of cavalry, on the other side of a plain where they might have come to an engagement. He held a council of war, in which it was resolved not to attack an army, who, if forced to it, must certainly fight with that sort of despair that renders courage invincible : he determined therefore to cut off the retreat of the French by breaking down the bridges on the Eger, over which they must necessarily pass.

Marshal Belleisle chose, however, a road which would have been, in any other season, impassable : he marched his army across some frozen morasses. The cold was his greatest enemy, for he lost by that alone above eight hundred soldiers. One of the hostages which he brought with him from Prague expired in his coach. At length he arrived at Egra, on the twenty-sixth of December, having performed a journey of thirty-eight leagues. That very day the troops that remained behind in Prague made a glorious capitulation. The same monsieur de Chevert,

Chevert, who had been the first in mounting the walls of the place, had been left to command therein with a garrison of about three thousand men, one third of whom were sick. He took hostages from the town, shut them up in his own house, and lodged several tons of gunpowder in his cellars, fully resolved to blow himself and them together into the air, in case the citizens should offer him the least violence. This intrepid conduct contributed not a little to those honourable conditions which he obtained of prince Lobkowitz. He was allowed to march his garrison to Egra, with all the honours of war, the sick excepted, who, not being able to follow him, were obliged to submit to the hard fate of becoming prisoners of war, though their behaviour merited a much better fate. Thus the town of Prague, which had been taken by the French in half-an-hour, was now happily evacuated after a siege and blockade of five months. The French being now left alone, without allies, could not preserve Bohemia to the emperor; but they restored him to the possession of Bavaria.

C H A P. V.

The state of Europe during this war. Situation of affairs between England and Spain. Commercial interests. What share Italy took in the troubles which arose after the death of Charles VI. The share taken therein by Holland. Death of cardinal Fleury.

IN the space of two years, reckoning from the death of the last Austrian emperor to the end of 1742, we have seen Bohemia, Bavaria, and the Upper Palatinate, taken and retaken; Prussia and Saxony united with France, until the treaty of Breslau, made in June the same year, and becoming afterwards neuter; while the other princes of the empire remained silent. In the same year also, George II. king of England, elector of Hanover, began openly to break the neutrality to which he had been forced to accede; and his troops in Flanders, to the amount of forty-eight thousand men, tho' as yet in a state of inaction, were, however, in readiness to act. The Austrian army was in possession of all Bohemia, Egra excepted. There were still fifty thousand French in Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate, under marshal Broglio, against a like number of the enemy; so that it was yet doubtful whether the Bavarian emperor, assisted by France, should conquer, or even the imperial crown.

It is to be remarked, that since the month of August 1741, France had sent to the emperor's assistance,

assistance, at different times, one hundred and fifty squadrons, without reckoning eleven independent companies, eight troops of light horse, three thousand Palatines, and three thousand Hessians; to all which may be added the Bavarians themselves, who were paid by France, who likewise raised, about the year 1742, thirty thousand militia, deducted from the people of different departments, in proportion to their number. And here it is not amiss to observe, that the department of Paris furnishes only fourteen hundred and ten men; while Normandy furnishes three thousand and ninety; a proof that this province is to be considered as the more populous.

France had also at the same time other resources; for besides what she paid to the Hessians and Palatines; besides six millions yearly given to the emperor; she granted subsidies to the king of Denmark, to prevent that crown from furnishing troops to the king of England; she also still retained Sweden in her pay, whom she had assisted in her war against Russia; and had it not been for this war, the court of Petersburg might have assisted the Austrians, as she afterwards did, with thirty thousand men.

We see what efforts France was obliged to make both at home and abroad: she was obliged to arm one part of Europe, and to maintain the other. Poland was far from cordially supporting the interests of her king, the elector of Saxony; and that elector, since his peace with the queen, concerned himself no farther in the quarrel of the empire. The grand signior, standing in awe of Schah-Nadir, who had usurped the throne of Persia, and conquered
part

part of Asia, no longer disturbed the kingdom of Hungary. Such was the state of affairs in the Northern and Eastern parts of Europe, and in the Southern and Western parts, in which latter I include France and Italy.

Spain exhibited another scene, wherein England was a principal actor, as well with regard to that balance of power which she had always affected to hold, as her commerce, in which was her more real and sensible interest. We have already observed, that after the happy conclusion of the peace of Utrecht, the English, who were left in possession of Minorca, as well as of Gibraltar in Spain, had obtained privileges from the court of Madrid which had been denied to the French, her defenders. The English merchants were permitted to supply the Spanish colonies with negroes, whom they purchased in Africa to make slaves of in the new world. This trade of one species of mankind selling those of another species, at the duty of thirty-three piastras a-head, paid by way of duty to the Spanish government, was attended with considerable profit; for the English company had obtained this advantage, that in the sale of four thousand eight hundred negroes, the eight hundred were vended duty-free. But the greatest advantage which was granted to the English, exclusive of all other nations, was a permission given them in the year 1716, to send a vessel annually to Porto Bello.

This vessel, which was by the first agreement to be only five hundred tons burthen, was by convention in 1717, encreased to eight hundred, which by abuse and connivance was
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in reality swelled to a thousand ; so that it was fit to contain two millions weight of merchandize ; these thousand tons were yet the smallest part of the commerce which this company carried on. The vessel was followed by a pinnace, which went to and from her continually, under pretence of supplying her with provisions. This pinnace took in constant loadings at the British colonies, which she unburthened at the ship ; which being thus constantly replenished was as good as a whole fleet. She was, besides, supplied by other vessels, who landed on the American coasts such kind of commodities as the people were in want of *. This was doing great injury to the Spanish government, as well as to all the nations concerned in the commerce carried on between the ports of Spain and the gulph of Mexico.

The Spanish government in return treated the English traders with severity ; and severity is always carried to too great a length. The innocent were sometimes confounded with the guilty : the debts lawfully due to some people were detained, because others had made unjust gains. There were violent complaints on both sides. Many of the English carried on a piratical trade with impunity : they encountered some Spaniards on the coast of Florida, who were fishing for the treasure of the wrecked galleons, of which they had already recovered four hundred thousand piastres. Part of these people they killed, and carried off the

* Certain it is, many abuses were committed, though perhaps not so flagrant as our author has represented them.

money.

money*. The Spaniards demanded satisfaction for this and other acts of violence of the English governors in America. These buccaneers used often, when they had seized upon a Spanish ship, after having plundered it, to sink it with the crew, that no testimony of their crime might survive. At other times they were wont to dispose of the Spaniards as slaves in their colonies; and when these unhappy people solicited the English government to do them justice, those who had sold them were acquitted from punishment, because they affirmed, that, misled by their swarthy complexions, they mistook the Spaniards for negroes. The judges understood, and winked at the aggressors, in whose plunder they shared, and who were then said to have been tried by their peers.

The Spanish guarda costas often avenged themselves of these cruel hostilities: they took several English vessels, the crews of which they treated very ill. A negotiation was carried on, both at Madrid and London, for putting an end to those quarrels in America. By the convention of Pardo, made January 14, 1739, Spain having settled her account with the English South-Sea company, promised to pay thereto, in four months, ninety thousand pounds; first deducting therefrom what the company was in other respects indebted to Spain. This deduction furnished fresh matter

* These are particulars which we never heard of before; but granting them to be true, the English government was not accountable for the actions and outrages of pirates, who are under the protection of no laws, and declared enemies to all nations.

for a broil ; and the settling of the accounts of a commercial company was productive of a war which cost on each side a thousand times more than what either demanded.

In 1739, the captain of a ship, named Jenkins, presented himself to the house of commons in England : he was a plain open man, and had not, as it was said, carried on any illicit commerce, but was met by a Spanish guarda-costa within a certain boundary in America, where the Spaniards would not permit the English to navigate. The Spanish commandant, having seized upon Jenkins' ship, put the crew in irons, slit the captain's nose, and cut off his ears. In this condition he appeared before the parliament, and related his story with that simplicity which is natural to his profession and character. "Gentlemen, said he, when they had mangled me thus, they threatened me with death : it was what I expected : I recommended my soul to God, and the avenging my cause to my country." These words, pronounced with a natural emphasis, excited sentiments of pity and indignation in the whole assembly ; and the common people wrote upon the door of the parliament-house, " A free sea, or a war."

It has been already observed, that the minister Walpole wanted to reconcile these differences : his enemies endeavoured to augment them : never was any subject handled with more real eloquence than this was in the house of commons of England ; nay, I doubt whether the studied orations formerly delivered in Athens and Rome upon occasions almost similar, excelled the speeches now spoken extempore by Sir William Wyndham, Lord Carteret, Sir Robert Walpole,

Walpole, Lord Chesterfield, and Mr. Pulteney, since created earl of Bath. These discourses, which naturally arise from the English government and spirit, often amaze strangers, just as some commodities are capitally prized abroad, which in the country that produces them are but little valued : but these productions must be cautiously perused, as the spirit of party dictates the whole, and the true state of the nation is almost always veiled. The ministerial party paint the government as being in a very flourishing condition ; the opposite faction represent the nation to be in a ruined state. Exaggeration triumphs in both. A member of parliament at that time wrote thus : “ Where are those days in which a secretary of war declared, that no power in Europe should dare to fire a single cannon, without permission being first obtained from Great Britain ? ”

At length the voice of the nation determined the resolution of the king and parliament. Letters of reprisal were granted to the merchants and privateers. War was declared against Spain in form about the latter end of the year 1739. The ocean now became the theatre of a war in which the privateers of each nation were authorised, by letters patent, to attack the merchant-ships both in Europe and America ; thereby reciprocally ruining that commerce, for the preservation of which they were supposed to fight. They soon proceeded to greater hostilities.

In 1740 admiral Vernon entered the gulph of Mexico, where he attacked, took, and razed to the ground, Porto-Bello, the staple of the treasures of the new world ; and thus did he
open

open a channel by which the English, sword in hand, carried on that commerce, which had heretofore been pronounced clandestine, and was the occasion of the rupture. The English looked upon this expedition as one of the greatest services that could be done to the nation. The admiral was honoured with the thanks of both houses of parliament. They wrote to him in the same terms which had been addressed to the duke of Marlborough after the battle of Hochstet *. South Sea stock arose after that action, notwithstanding the immense expence of the nation. The English now hoped for nothing less than the conquest of all Spanish America: they supposed that nothing could resist the arms of Vernon; and shortly after, when that admiral went to lay siege to Carthagena, they anticipated the celebration of the taking of the place; insomuch that, at the very time in which he was forced to raise the siege, a medal was struck in London, on which were to be seen the harbour and environs of Carthagena, with this inscription: "He has taken Carthagena." The reverse exhibited admiral Vernon and this motto: "To the avenger of his country." There have been many instances of these premature medals, whereby posterity might be deceived, if the errors were not removed by the more faithful and more exact reports of history.

Although the French navy was very weak, it was, however, sufficient to stop the progress

* The reduction of Porto Bello, which did not cost the lives of ten men, was magnified into a great exploit by the spirit of party; but the admiral who took it had not talents to maintain the reputation which he had so easily acquired.

of the English, and squadrons were sent by France to protect the vessels and coasts of Spain. It was contrary to the law of nations, should the English, as they had not broken with France, have attacked her flag; but they eluded this artifice with a new kind of policy: they twice pretended to mistake the French for Spanish ships. Six of their ships of war attacked the Chevalier d'Epinay off St. Domingo, who had but four, each of which carried less metal than any of the English; but, finding themselves very roughly handled, they drew off, pretending to have found their mistake, and asking pardon *. Fighting by mistake was an action that had never been known before. They behaved in the same manner to the chevalier de Caylus in the straits of Gibraltar: he gave them as warm a reception, though he had but three ships against five. Thus did they try each other's strength, without being declared enemies. Now the new political system began

* M. de Voltaire is very much mistaken if he thinks the English commanders had orders to prosecute hostilities in this manner. The two incidents he mentions arose from a scrupulous adherence to punctilio. The English captains expected and demanded a compliment which they thought due to the British flag; and this being refused, hostilities ensued. He is also mistaken in two other particulars. In the affair off St. Domingo, the number and strength of the ships on both sides were equal, if we may believe our own eyes, which were witnesses of this transaction; and, according to the best accounts we could receive, the French were much more roughly handled than the English. This was also the case in the affair between captain Barnet and the count de Caylus; Barnet had but two ships, and Caylus had three. It is a mortifying reflection to think how historical truth is weakened through the medium of national vanity.

to be set on foot, of making war in the time of profound peace; of committing hostilities in one part of the world, and of manifesting mutual friendship in another; also of keeping ambassadors in an enemy's court. These sort of proceedings were in some measure consoling to the people, and carried at least marks of moderation, which gave them room to hope for public unity and concord.

This was the state of affairs between France, Spain, and England, when the death of the emperor Charles VI. involved Europe in fresh troubles. We have already seen the effects in Germany of the dispute between Austria and Bavaria. Italy was soon ravaged on account of this Austrian succession; the Milanese was reclaimed by the Spaniards; Parma and Placentia were, by right of birth, to devolve upon one of the sons of the queen of Spain, she being born princess of Parma.

King Philip V. wanted therefore to secure the duchy of Milan to his third son *. It would have alarmed Italy too much if Parma and Placentia had been disposed of in favour of Don Carlos, who was already master of Naples and Sicily. Too much dominion in the hands of the same sovereign would have given a general uneasiness. For this reason Milan and Parma were designed for the infant Don Philip.

The queen of Hungary, who was in possession of the Milanese, used her utmost efforts to keep it. The king of Sardinia, duke of Savoy, also revived his claim upon that province: he

* It was the wife of this prince, whose restless ambition embroiled Italy in order to obtain a settlement for her son Philip.

feared seeing it in the hands of the house of Lorrain, engrafted on the house of Austria, who possessing, at the same time, the Milanese and Tuscany, might be strong enough to deprive him of the territories which had been ceded to him by the treaties of 1737 and 1738: but he was still in greater dread of seeing himself hemmed in by France and a prince of the house of Bourbon, while another prince of that family sat upon the throne of Naples and Sicily. January 1, 1742, he caused to be printed and published a manifesto, in which he stated his claims; but, in the month of February, he resolved to act conjunctively with the queen of Hungary, without being upon good terms with her in the main: they only united against the present danger. This was the only advantage they proposed. The king of Sardinia reserved to himself the choice of adopting other measures, whenever he should think proper: this was a treaty between two enemies, intended only to defend themselves against a third. The court of Spain sent Don Philip to attack the king of Sardinia, who neither chose to have him as a friend nor a neighbour. Cardinal Fleury allowed the infant and part of his army to pass through France, but refused to furnish him with troops: he thought it was enough to have sent fleets to America.

This minister seemed to be now afraid to grant twelve thousand men to a prince of the house of Bourbon and Lewis XV's son-in-law; and yet, about a year before, he had marched two armies of forty thousand each into two different parts of Germany for the service and assistance of the elector of Bavaria. Sometimes

we do too much, and at others are fearful of doing ever so little. The reason of his acting thus was, that he flattered himself the duke of Savoy might be regained, who was politic enough to leave him room to hope for it; besides, he did not at this time chuse to fall out with the English, who would have infallibly declared war; for in the month of February, 1742, the parliament of Great Britain granted forty thousand sailors to the king, at four pounds sterling for each man monthly: they also allowed him considerable subsidies, always expressly recommending to him the care of the balance of power in Europe. There was a considerable English fleet in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and one still stronger off Brest. Cardinal Fleury, who had hitherto always maintained the ascendancy over the English in negotiating, and relied much upon his superiority in the cabinet, had neglected the marine. The continental revolutions, which commenced in Germany, were of such a nature, as not to leave him at liberty every-where to brave the maritime powers.

The English openly opposed the establishment of Don Philip in Italy, under pretence of preserving the balance of power. In 1702, indeed, they had viewed the balance of power in a different light: it was then they entered into a war for giving to the archduke Charles the crown of Spain, the new world, the Milanese, Mantua, Naples, Sicily, and Flanders; while his brother Joseph was possessed of Hungary, Austria, Bohemia, and many other dominions, as well as being seated on the imperial throne.

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In a word, this same balance of power, whether well or ill understood, was become the favourite passion of the English: but the minister had his eye upon a much more secret interest. One of his views was to force Spain to divide with England the trade of the new world: at this price they would have assisted Don Philip to enter Italy, as they had succoured Don Carlos in 1731: but the court of Spain did not chuse to enrich her enemies at such vast expences; and, moreover, depended upon its power to establish Don Philip in spite of them. In the months of November and December 1741, the court of Spain transported by sea several bodies of troops to Italy, under the conduct of the duke de Montemar, famous for his victory at Bitonto, and afterwards remarkable by his disgrace. They had been successively debarked in Tuscany, and in those ports called the state *Degli Presidii*, belonging to the crown of Sicily. Their route lying necessarily through Tuscany, the grand duke, husband to the queen of Hungary, gave them a free passage, having declared himself neuter in the cause of his wife. The duke of Modena, who was married to a princess of the blood of France also declared himself neuter. Pope Benedict XIV. thro' whose territories both the Spanish and Austrian armies were to pass, promised the same neutrality, and for a better reason than any other, as being the common father both of princes and people.

Fresh forces also arrived from Spain by the way of Genoa: that republic had also declared itself neuter, and permitted them to proceed. About this time, the king of Naples too adopted the neutral system, though his father

and brother were principally concerned; yet after all, not one of these potentates, apparently neutral, were so in reality. Don Carlos sent two Neapolitan regiments in Spanish pay to the duke de Montemar: he was compelled to promise that he would take no part in the dispute. Neither the coasts, nor yet the city of Naples, were secure from being bombarded by the English fleet. He had not reigned long enough to make his kingdom that powerful state which it had been formerly under the princes of Normandy, and those of the house of Anjou. It was now near three hundred years since Naples had had a sovereign residing in the capital; the country was always before governed by viceroys; and, often changing its masters, had not been able to acquire that strength which a state derives from the settled rule of a prince who resides in person in his dominions. The king had begun with establishing regularity and commerce; but it requires time to raise a marine, and form a body of disciplined and warlike troops. This prince's remaining neuter did not prevent the duke de Montemar's army from being increased by several Neapolitan regiments, as has been before remarked. By this expedient Don Carlos trained his soldiers, and preserved to his people peace and commerce.

The duke of Modena was already the secret friend of Spain; Genoa had much the same inclination; and the pope, having acknowledged the emperor immediately after his election, did not appear entirely neutral towards the queen of Hungary.

Count Traun, the queen's governor in the duchy of Milan, assembling all his forces, joined them

them to those which were sent him from Tirol, in order to oppose the Spaniards. About the beginning of March 1740, the king of Sardinia, seconding warmly the Austrians, advanced towards the territories of Parma. Charles Emanuel III. king of Sardinia and duke of Savoy, appeared every way deserving of a much more extensive dominion than that which he possessed, and which it was his chief study to augment: he now exerted as much courage and activity in the cause of the house of Austria, as he had displayed against it in the war of 1733. In these two conjunctures he shewed how valuable his alliance was, and that nothing ought to be neglected either to secure him or deprive him of power: he had excellent ministers and good generals, and was himself both a minister and a general; an œconomist in his expences, skilful in his conduct, indefatigable in hardship, and courageous in danger.

He appeared even so early as the month of May with eighteen thousand men on the side of Parma, while the Austrians advanced towards the Bolognese with about twelve thousand. The duke de Montemar, not near so strong, lost ground every-where. The king of Sardinia penetrated even to Modena, with intention to make that duke renounce the neutrality and join him: he proposed, conjunctively with the Austrians, that he should give up his citadel to them; but that prince and his spouse had too much courage to be compelled to take part in an affair in which they were no way concerned: they rather chose the misfortune of losing their territories for a while, than the shame of being dependent upon those, who, under the name of

allies, proposed to hold them really in servitude: they quitted their principality, and retired to Ferrara; while the Austrians and Piedmontese, possessing themselves of the duchy of Modena, wasted the whole country. Such was the end of their neutrality!

As to the pope, if the queen of Hungary did not oblige him to renounce the system he had adopted, she forced him, however, to furnish the means of carrying on the war even on the papal territory; for, as soon as her arms had gained the upper hand, she obtained a bull for levying the tenth penny on all ecclesiastical livings throughout her Italian dominions: her troops, which pursued the duke de Montemar in the marquisate of Ancona, lived at the expence of the subjects of the holy see. Rome had it not in her power to cause her neutrality to be respected. It was no longer the time in which the popes were able, sword in hand, to defend or encrease their territories: they are more rich, but less powerful than formerly: they have neither generals nor armies: taken up with a pacific system for more than two hundred years, they receive law generally from the army that is nearest to their dominions. Cardinal Alberoni, some years since, proposed a scheme for remedying this weakness, by establishing an Italic body with the pope at their head, as we see in Germany the emperor at the head of the Germanic body: but this project was too great to defend them from the calamities to which war always subjects a neutral and defenceless state.

With respect to the king of Naples's neutrality, this was the consequence: August 18,

they were surprised with the appearance, off the port of Naples, of an English squadron, consisting of six sixty-gun ships of war, six frigates, and two bomb-ketches. Captain, afterwards admiral Martin, who commanded this squadron, sent an officer ashore with a letter to the chief minister; the purport of which was, that his Neapolitan majesty should recal his troops from the Spanish army; or otherwise, that his capital should be immediately bombarded. Some conferences were held: the English commodore, at length, gave him only one hour to determine. The port was but poorly furnished with artillery: they had not taken precautions necessary to secure them from insult, because they had not expected it. They now saw that the old maxim is often verified, which says, "Whoever rules at sea, will be master at land." They were obliged to sign every thing the English commodore proposed, and even to observe the treaty, until they had provided for the defence of the port and the kingdom *.

The English themselves were very well convinced that the king of Naples could no more observe this neutrality which he had been obliged to embrace, than the king of England had observed his in Germany. The duke de Montemar, who had entered Italy to reduce Lombardy, retired towards the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples, always closely pressed by

* It would not be amiss to repeat the same expedient at this juncture: for, howsoever the Neapolitans may have fortified their city against the cannon of the English fleet, they will find it impossible to secure it against the horrors of a bombardment.

the Austrians. The king of Sardinia returned at the same time to Piedmont and his duchy of Savoy, where his presence was required by the vicissitudes of war. The infant Don Philip had vainly strove to debark some fresh troops at Genoa, which he had been hindered from doing by the English squadron; but by land he entered the duchy of Savoy, of which he became master. The syndics of Chamberry paid him homage: he forbade the inhabitants of the duchy to correspond in the least with their master, under pain of death. King Charles Emanuel passed the Alps with twenty thousand men; and the infant, who had scarcely more than two thousand, abandoning his conquests, retired towards Dauphiny, to wait for reinforcements. As soon as these had reached him, the Spaniards possessed themselves a second time of Savoy. This country is almost entirely open on the side of Dauphiny; but it is poor and barren; so that the sovereign hardly draws from it a million of livres yearly. Charles Emanuel abandoned it to hasten to the defence of places more important.

It is evident from this sketch that the alarm was general, and all the provinces from the heart of Silesia to the extremity of Italy experienced different reverses of fortune. Austria was at this time at open war only with Bavaria and Spain. Naples, Florence, Genoa, and Rome, were neuter. The people of the Milanese, of Mantua, of Parma, Modena, and Guastalla, long accustomed to be the prey of the conqueror, without daring to vote either for or against him, looked upon these irruptions and frequent shocks with an impotent melancholy

choly concern. The court of Spain demanded of the states of Switzerland a passage through their territories for some troops they were going to send into Italy, and were refused. The Swiss hire their soldiers to different princes, but forbid them from entering their territories; the government is pacific, and the people warriors; a neutrality of such a nature could not but be respected. To give a proper weight to hers, Venice levied twenty thousand men.

All Germany seemed indifferent in the quarrel between Austria and Bavaria. Even the elector of Cologne did not dare to take the part of his brother, who was emperor: he feared the fate of the duke of Modena. If Hanover took part in the quarrel, it was only as a country subject to England, and her soldiers were paid by that crown. The German princes themselves, although their troops were let out as mercenaries, were yet regarded as neuter. The imperial territories, in which the forces of the belligerent powers at different times appeared, were seldom pillaged. The French paid for every thing in ready money: the Austrians in paper: England and Holland still kept up at least the appearance of peace with France. There was a consul from England at Naples, a minister from France at Turin, nay even at Vienna; and those states again had their representatives at Paris. But at bottom, the courts of Vienna, London, and Turin, were using their utmost endeavours to shake the French monarchy.

England was more urgent with Holland than ever to declare war, and France laboured hard to prevent it. This little republic might have

enjoyed the glory of being mediatrix between France and Austria; it would have been for her interest, as well as her grandeur: but the English faction *, which was uppermost at the Hague, prevailed. Holland, however, missed this opportunity of playing the noblest part she ever could have done in Europe. It often happens that one man judges better in times of faction and prejudice than a whole senate, or even a nation. M. Van Hoy, ambassador from the States General to the court of France, incessantly remonstrated to them, that nothing could so much contribute to their interest and glory as being the mediators; that if they pursued a contrary plan, they would have nothing left but a fruitless repentance. But the prevailing faction at the Hague grew incensed at his counsel, and forbade him (behaviour before unheard-of!) to use any more reflections in his letters. The party that contended for a war caused his letters to be published in Holland to expose him to ridicule, because they seemed rather the exhortations of a philosopher, than the letters of an ambassador; but they only published their own condemnation.

There were indeed some members of the States General who both thought and spoke like M. Van Hoy; but they engrossed very lit-

* Rather the Orange faction, which has always comprehended the army, and the bulk of the common people, who find their account in war, and are easily influenced by the emissaries of corruption. The other party, known by the appellation of Louvenstein, consists of a few patriots, who are averse to a perpetual dictator; some malecontents, and a good number attached, from views of self-interest, to the court of Versailles,

the attention. They were warmed with the single word *liberty*, the remembrance of their having been over-run by Lewis XIV. and the hopes of humbling his successor. One would think it scarcely probable, that in the present times some out-lines of the customs and manners of old Greece should be revived; yet it was now seen in Holland. M. William Van Haren, a young gentleman, one of the deputies of the province of Friseland to the States-General, composed some allegorical poems to animate the nation against the king of France. These pieces were full of beautiful strokes of writing: the author knew well how to enrich his tongue, and to give it a turn of harmony which indeed it greatly wanted. His verses, though sublime and allegorical, were understood by the people, because they were natural, and the allegory clear: they were read after divine service, in the public squares, and even in the villages; and those who read them were munificently paid by the auditors, as had been formerly the case with those who pronounced Homer's pieces in public. Nothing contributed more to enflame the Dutch. It had been proposed to augment the republic's troops with twenty thousand men; to furnish the queen of Hungary with efficacious assistance; but the deputies of Amsterdam were still wavering. While they were thus undetermined, they received a letter in the name of a part of the town, called Le Jourdain, which had always been a turbulent quarter; and it was couched in these terms: "Messieurs du Jourdain give this notice to Messieurs the deputies, that perhaps they may have their throats

throats cut, unless they consent to the raising twenty thousand men." This levy was agreed to, and set on foot some months after; and then the states had an army of eighty thousand men.

It did not as yet appear evident that the United Provinces were to have a stadtholder; his party, however, privately gained strength. It was easily foreseen that the same people who so loudly called out for a war, and forced their governors to augment their troops, might one day oblige them to give them a master. But the magistrates who were most devoted to the English faction, though determined on a war, were yet more intent on preserving their authority: they stood in more dread of a stadtholder than the arms of France. This was evident in the military promotions made in September 1742; when, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the provinces of Groningen and Friseland, who desired that the prince of Orange should be appointed general of infantry, the states made him but a lieutenant-general, a title which the prince rejected with indignation.

In this violent situation were all the European powers in the beginning of the year 1743, when cardinal Fleury, after having been forced in a very old age, notwithstanding his character for peace, to involve Europe in trouble, departed this life: he left the naval and political affairs of France in such a crisis, that it had caused some change in the before-uninterrupted happiness of his life, but it had no effect upon the tranquility of his soul. He was at the time of his death eighty-nine.

nine years and seven months old. The cardinal may be considered as having been a happy man, if we only reflect, that from the truest enumeration, and most exact calculations, it is proved, according to the course of nature, not above one man in an hundred and forty cotemporaries, arrive to eighty years of age. But we must allow, than no man ever run through a more singular or fortunate career, since it is well known, that among those who arrive at that age, seldom one in a thousand preserves his health, and has a head fit for business; and if it be remembered, that the cardinal was seventy-three when he assumed the function of prime minister, at which time of life the greatest part of mankind chuse to retire from public business.

If his good fortune was singular, so was his moderation. Cardinal Ximenes had the riches of a sovereign, and levied armies at his own expence, yet always continued to wear the cordelier's habit. Cardinal d'Amboise aspired at the papal crown. Wolsey, in his disgrace, deplored his condition, because upon the road he had only an hundred and eighty domestics to attend him. Every one knows the vanity and arrogance of cardinal Richelieu, and the immense wealth which Mazarin left behind him. Cardinal Fleury had nothing left him whereby to be distinguished, but his modesty; born to no fortune, and subsisting merely upon the allowance of one of his uncles, he expended in beneficent actions what he received from generosity. His whole income, when prime minister, was sixty thousand livres, arising from two benefices; twenty thousand, and no more,
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112 The HISTORY of

was the produce of his seat in council ; and he had fifteen thousand from the post-office : half of the sum-total he laid out in private offices of charity, and the other half was consigned to the maintenance of a moderate house, and a frugal table. His whole furniture was not worth two thousand crowns.

This simplicity, which contributed so much to his reputation and fortune, was no constraint upon him. Men are never apt to constrain themselves so very long. He had always lived thus entirely employed in pleasing, and advancing his fortune, by those amiable qualifications which marked his character and disposition. When he was at court in the office of almoner to the dauphiness, he gained every body's friendship : his conversation was mild and graceful, mixed with pleasing and lively anecdotes, and sometimes seasoned by a dash of raillery, which, far from being offensive, had something in it very engaging. He wrote just as he spoke. There are some notes of his still extant, written about fifteen days before his death, which prove that he preserved to the last that power of endearment. He was praised by all the ladies about court, without provoking the jealousy or envy of the men. Lewis XIV. had refused him a bishopric a good while. I have heard him say, that having at length been promoted to the diocese of Frejus, when he had no longer any hope of being advanced, the king addressed him thus : " I have made you wait longer than I intended, because you had too many friends, who solicited for you ; and I was resolved to have the satisfaction of your being obliged to no-body but me."

Although

Although he had a great number of that sort of acquaintance commonly called Friends, it was neither his rule nor his taste to lavish his friendship: he only exhibited the outward appearances of it, and even that within a certain bound which had in it nothing either false or imposing; being master of the art of preserving the good-will of all mankind, without entrusting his secrets with any one: he resigned his bishopric as soon as he was able, after having by his æconomy paid off several debts with which it had been encumbered, and done a vast deal of good by his spirit of reconciliation.

These were the predominant parts of his character. The reason which he gave to his people for resigning his bishopric, was, that his bad state of health prevented him from paying a proper attention to the welfare of his flock: he assigned the same reason to the duke of Orleans, in his regency, for refusing the archbishopric of Rheims, which his highness offered to him. When marshal Villars pressed him to accept of it, his answer was, it would be very unbecoming him, who had not the ability to govern the diocese of Frejus, should he find ability to guide the archbishopric of Rheims. This bishopric of Frejus was far from the court in an unpleasant country; therefore it was never agreeable to him. He used to say, that he was disgusted at his marriage the moment he saw his wife. He subscribed himself thus humourously enough in one of his letters to Quirini: "Fleury, by the divine wrath, bishop of Frejus."

He vacated that bishopric about the beginning of the year 1715. The court of Rome, which

is always well informed of the ecclesiastical affairs of other kingdoms, was convinced that this voluntary and absolute renunciation of a bishopric was founded in reality on a notion which Fleury entertained of being appointed preceptor to the Dauphin. Pope Clement II. who had no doubt of this, spoke of it openly; and indeed marshal de Villeroy, after much solicitation, obtained that trust for him of Lewis XIV. who named for it the bishop of Frejus in his codicil. Nevertheless, the new preceptor explains himself on this matter, in a letter to cardinal Quirini, thus: "I have regretted more than once the loss of the solitude of Frejus: I was informed, on my arrival, that the king was at the point of death, and that he had done me the honour of appointing me preceptor to his great grandson: had he been able to have heard me, I would have entreated him to have excused me from a burthen, the consideration of which makes me tremble; but, after his death, they would not listen to me: I have been therefore extremely ill, and have no consolation for the loss of my liberty."

He comforted himself with insensibly forming his pupil to business, secrecy, and probity; and amidst all the revolutions of the court, during the minority, preserved the good-will of the regent, and the esteem of the public. Never endeavouring to make himself of consequence, nor complaining of any one; exposing himself to no refusal, nor engaging in any intrigue; but he applied himself secretly to the knowledge of the internal administration of the kingdom, and the policy of other nations. All France wished to see him at the head of affairs, and

and this wish arose from a consideration of the circumspection of his conduct, and the sweetness of his manners. Accident at length placed him there against his will; and, thus elevated, he made it evident, that men of a mild and pacific turn of mind are fittest to govern. His administration was less opposed, as well as less envied, than that of either Richelieu or Mazarine had been in their happiest days: his advancement had no influence on his manners: they were still the same. It was matter of general astonishment to see a first minister who was unexceptionably the most amiable and disinterested man of the whole court. This moderation happily corresponded with the welfare of the state: it stood in need of that peace of which he was so fond: and all the foreign ministers were persuaded, that, during his life, it would never be interrupted.

When he appeared, in 1725, at the congress of Soissons, all the foreign ministers regarded him as their father; and many princes, besides the emperor Charles VI. often in their letters distinguished him by that title: but in 1733 they presumed too much on his character as a peaceable man. The grand chancellor of Vienna haughtily said, they might proceed as they pleased against king Stanislaus of Poland; for the cardinal would bear it all tamely: but, when forced into a war, he conducted it with prudence and success, and brought it to a happy conclusion. The treaty was not indeed satisfactory either to Spain or Savoy; but France got Lorraine by it; and surely there is no need for hesitation, when we are to chuse whether we shall serve our allies or our country.

Without

Without having any mighty views, he did some great things, by letting them work their own events. His tranquil disposition made him fear, and even under-value, men of a penetrating, active capacities; for such, he pretended, were never at rest. But as this turn of mind is always accompanied by strong talents, he kept those who were possessed of it at too great a distance. His distrust of mankind was much greater than his desire of knowing them: his age and character inclined him to believe that there was no sort of genius in France, in any branch whatever; and even if there were, he thought he might do without those who possessed it, believing it a matter of great indifference what kind of people he employed. He endeavoured, as much as in him lay, to introduce into the public administration that œconomy which reigned in his own house. By an adherence to this maxim, he neglected to keep on foot a strong naval armament: he never imagined that the state might one day stand in need of it to oppose the English, whom he had long amused with negotiations; but negotiations may vary and fail of their influence, when a good fleet will not.

The chief principle of his administration was to preserve regularity in the finances of the kingdom, and to give her time to recover herself: "like a robust body, which, having felt some shocks, stands in need only of a certain regimen to restore it." This was the answer he made when a grand project was laid before him, which was an innovation of the finances; and indeed the state of commerce, left almost to itself, under his administration, was very flourishing

flourishing during the peace; but not being supported by maritime forces equal to those of England, it drooped considerably while the war of 1741 lasted.

His administration was not remarkable for any new establishment in the kingdom, any public monument, nor for even one of those magnificent undertakings or institutions which impose on the public, and strike the eyes of strangers: but it will be always distinguished by his moderation, simplicity, uniformity, and prudence.

At length the most peaceable of ministers was dragged into the most violent quarrel; and he who was the best husband of the public treasures of France, was at last obliged to lavish them on a war, which, while he lived, proved unfortunate. The king was present at his last moments; he wept over him; the dauphin was brought into the chamber, and as they kept him at some distance from the bed of the dying man, the cardinal desired they would permit him to be brought nearer: "It is proper, says he, that he should be accustomed to such sights as this is. At length he expired in his ninetyeth year, undaunted and resigned.

C H A P. VI.

Unhappy situation of the emperor Charles VII. Loss of the battle of Dettingen. The army of France, which was sent to assist the emperor in Bavaria, abandons his cause.

N O sooner were the eyes of cardinal Fleury closed, than the king took the reins of government into his own hands: there was no part, not even the minutest of the administration, of which he was not master. He was firmly resolved to accept of an honourable peace, or to prosecute with vigor a necessary war; and to adhere inviolably to his word.

He made no change in the measures already taken; the same generals commanded.

It is pretended by some, that the same mistakes were committed in 1743, which the preceding year had occasioned the loss of Bohemia and Bavaria; that the Bavarian and French forces being divided into too many separate bodies, mouldered away by degrees. The mortality which got footing among the French troops in Bavaria was the beginning of their misfortunes. It often happens that more soldiers perish through inaction than fatigue, and great care should be taken to hinder any sickness that chances to find its way into a camp, from spreading. The French soldiers spent the latter end of 1742, and the beginning of 1743, crowded upon each other in German stoves, which alone destroyed them in great numbers; but that which was their greatest detriment

was

was a misunderstanding between marshal Broglie and count Seckendorff, who then commanded the Bavarians. The latter, who acted under prince Charles, would have had the former weaken himself to send him reinforcements; but the marshal refused him as often as they were asked, having enough to do in opposing prince Lobkowitz. The emperor, who was then in Munich, could not reconcile them. Broglie was said in the public papers to have forty thousand men, but he had not more than twenty thousand.

Prince Charles of Lorrain, with his united forces, obtained at this time a complete victory over the Bavarians, in the neighbourhood of the river Inn, not far from Branaw. He cut off eight thousand men, and took prisoners general Minuzzi, and three other general officers. The remains of the defeated army retired to Branaw, and all Bavaria was soon opened to the incursions of the Austrians. Maria Theresa received this news at Prague the very day on which she was crowned; a ceremony with which her rival had been shortly before honoured in the same place. There was nothing now to oppose the progress of prince Charles: he took Dingelsing, Deckendorff, and Landau, upon the Isser; and made a number of prisoners every where.

On the other side, prince Lobkowitz possessed himself of the Upper Palatinate, and marshal Broglie retired towards Ingoldstadt. The emperor once more fled from his capital, and sheltered himself in Augsburg, an imperial town; but he did not remain there long. As
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he quitted it, he had the mortification to see colonel Mentzel enter at the head of his Pandours; and the savages had the brutality to insult him in the public streets: he retired to Frankfort. This rapid course of events fell out in May and June.

The emperor's misfortunes daily encreasing, he was reduced to the necessity of supplicating the queen of Hungary, whom he had been once so near dethroning: he offered to renounce all his claims to the inheritance of the house of Austria. The hereditary prince of Hesse undertook the management of this negotiation, and waited on the king of England, then at Hanover, with the emperor's propositions. King George's answer was, that he would consult his parliament. Even this negotiation of the prince of Hesse served only to convince the emperor more clearly, that his enemies meditated his expulsion from the imperial throne. The resource which he expected by addressing the queen of Hungary being denied to him, his next step was to declare his intention of remaining neuter, though in his own cause; and he therefore requested of her to let the shattered remains of his army quarter in Suabia, and to be regarded as the troops of the empire. He at the same time offered to send marshal Brogli's army back to France. The queen answered, "that she was not at war with the head of the empire, and since, according to the directions of the golden bull, which had been violated by his election, she had never acknowledged him as such, she should cause his troops to be attacked wherever they were

were found ; yet as to himself, he would not oppose his taking refuge in any part of the imperial territories, Bavaria excepted."

At the same time Lord Stair directed his march towards Frankfort with an army of upwards of fifty thousand men, consisting of English, Hanoverians, and Austrians. The king of England arrived at the army with his second son the duke of Cumberland, having in his way passed by Frankfort, the asylum of the emperor, whom he still acknowledged as his sovereign in the empire, and yet against whom he waged war in hopes to dethrone him.

The Dutch at length consented to join the allied army with twenty thousand men, believing that now they could take such a step without any hazard ; and that, without declaring war against France, they might help to crush her. They sent six thousand men into Flanders to replace the Austrian garrisons, and prepared to send fourteen thousand men into Germany ; but they proceeded in the true spirit of the republic, very slowly ; they either believed, or at least pretended to believe, at the Hague, Vienna, and London, that France was now drained both of men and money. One of the principal members of the states of Holland affirmed, that France could not raise more than one hundred thousand men, and that her whole current specie did not exceed two hundred millions of livres. This was abusing the people strangely ; but it is necessary often to deceive them, to keep them in proper spirits.

The king of France, in the mean time, sent marshal Noailles with sixty-six battalions, and one hundred and thirty-eight squadrons, to at-

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tack the English wherever he could find them; and he resolved to send assistance to Don Philip in Italy, in case the court of Sardinia should refuse to come to an accommodation. He maintained, besides, upon the Danube, a complete army of sixty-six squadrons and one hundred and fifteen battalions; and this force was strong enough to succour Egra on one side, and Bavaria on the other. Although but an auxiliary, he appeared every-where as a principal; and the emperor, having retreated from Augs-
burgh to Frankfort, expected the decision of his fate from the fortune of his allies or of his enemies.

The quarrels of this prince, and other disputes to which it gave rise, now employed not less than ten armies at once; five in Germany, and as many in Italy. There was, first, M. Broglio's army in Germany, which defended Bavaria: it was made up, in the main, of all those regiments which had taken the route of Bohemia, and of half of M. Belleisle's troops, which, joined to the Bavarians, made a very formidable body: the second was that of prince Charles, which pressed hard upon Broglio, and ravaged Bavaria: the third was that of M. de Noailles upon the Rhine, augmented with troops and recruits from M. Belleisle. To oppose Noailles the Hanoverians, Austrians, and English, were assembled, to the amount of fifty thousand men, under the command of king George II. This was the fourth army. The fifth was fourteen thousand Dutch, advancing slowly, on the banks of the Maine, to join the last; but they come too late.

The five armies in Italy were, first, that of the infant Don Philip, which had subdued Savoy: secondly, that of the king of Sardinia, part of which guarded the Alps, and part was joined with the Austrians; which latter may be reckoned a third army, as they spread themselves from the Milanese to the neighbourhood of Bologna: these were opposed by count Gages, a Fleming by birth, whose merit had raised him to the command of the Spanish army, in the place of the duke de Montemar: the fifth was that of Naples, tied up from acting by a treaty just then expiring. To these ten armies may be added an eleventh, that of Venice, kept on foot purely to secure that republic from the insults of the others.

These vast appearances kept all Europe in suspense. It was a game played from one end to the other of this quarter of the globe by all her princes; in the course of which they hazarded nearly upon equal terms the blood and treasure of their subjects, and held fortune long in the balance by a variety of great achievements, vast mistakes, and considerable losses. Very little land is to be gained in Italy, even with great difficulty; for, on the side of Piedmont, a single rock may cost a whole army; and about Lombardy the country is entirely intersected with rivers and canals.

Count Gages had passed the Panaro, and attacked count Traun: they fought a battle at Campo Santo in the month of February, for which *Te Deum* was sung both at Madrid and Vienna: it cost the lives of many brave soldiers on both sides, but gave superiority to neither: in Germany they expected more decisive actions.

Marſhal de Noailles, who commanded againſt the king of England, had borne arms ever ſince he was fifteen years of age : he had been at the head of the army in Catalonia, and, beſides, paſſed through all the offices of civil government : he had directed the finances in the beginning of the regency ; he had been general of an army, and miniſter of ſtate ; and in all his employments was remarkable for the cultivation of letters ; a conduct formerly common among the Greeks and Romans, but rarely to be found in modern times in Europe. This general had, by a ſuperior manœuvre, made himſelf maſter of the country : he flanked the army of the king of England, and kept the Maine between them : at the ſame time, by ſecuring all the avenues to their camp, both above and below, he cut off all their ſubſiſtence.

The king of England took poſt at Aſchaffenburg, a town on the Maine, belonging to the elector of Mentz : he took this ſtep againſt the opinion of the earl of Stair, and ſoon repented he had done ſo ; for he now ſaw his army blocked up and ſtarved by M. Noailles * : the ſoldiers were reduced to half their daily allowance, and the king ſaw himſelf under a neceſſity of retreating, to look for provisions at Hannau, on the road to Frankfort ; but in this caſe he found he muſt be expoſed to the fire of the batteries which the enemy had raiſed upon the Maine : he was therefore obliged to make a

* They were in ſuch want of forage and provisions, that they were reduced to the neceſſity of propoſing to hamstring their horſes, which they muſt have done, had they remained two days longer in this poſition.

precipitate

precipitate retreat with an army weakened by desertion, and whose rear was in danger of being cut off by the French ; for M. Noailles had taken the precaution to throw bridges over the river between Dettingen and Aschaffenburg, on the road to Hanau ; and this, to complete their error, the allies had not prevented. June 26, the king of England caused his army to decamp at midnight without beat of drum, and ventured upon a most precipitate and dangerous march, which indeed he could by no means avoid.

Count de Noailles, who encamped upon the side of that river, was the first who perceived this motion, of which he instantly apprised his father : the marshal rose, and saw the English marching, as it were, to their destruction in a narrow road, with a mountain on one side, and a river on the other : he immediately caused thirty squadrons, consisting of the king's household, of the dragoons, and hussars, to advance towards the village of Dettingen, before which the English must necessarily have passed. Four brigades of infantry, with that of the French guards, were marched over two bridges, with orders to remain posted in the village of Dettingen, on one side of a hollow way, where they could not be perceived by the English, of all whose motions the marshal had a clear view. M. de Valiere, a lieutenant-general, who had made the artillery as serviceable as could be possible, held the enemy in a defile, between two batteries, which played upon them from the opposite bank. They were to pass through a hollow way, which lies between Dettingen and a small rivulet. The French were not to fall on them

but at a certain advantage, as the very situation of the ground was a snare from which they could not escape. The king of England was in danger of being taken. In short, it was now one of those critical moments that might have put an end to the war.

The marshal recommended it to the duke de Grammont, his nephew, a lieutenant-general, and colonel of the guards, to wait in that position till the enemy should fall into his hands, which was unavoidable. In the mean time, he went to reconnoitre a ford, in order to advance some more cavalry, and more clearly to examine the posture of the enemy. Most of the officers say he had better have staid at the head of his army, to enforce obedience; but, had the day been successful, this error would not have been laid to his charge. Be that as it may, he sent five brigades to secure the post of Aschaffenburg; so that the English were surrounded on all sides.

All these measures were disconcerted by a moment's impatience. The duke de Grammont, imagining that the first column of the enemy had already passed, and that he had only to fall upon their rear, which could not withstand him, caused his troops to advance from the hollow way. The duke de Chevreuse represented to him the danger of this unseasonable courage; the count de Noailles intreated that he would only wait a moment for the return of his father; the duke de Grammont, whose motions were already perceived by the English, thought he ought not to retire; therefore, quitting the very advantageous post, which he ought by all means to have kept, he advanced with a regiment of guards,

guards, and Noailles's infantry, into a small field, called the Cock-pit. The English, who were filing off in order of battle, soon formed : their whole army consisted of fifty thousand men, and they were opposed by thirty squadrons and five brigades of infantry. Thus the French themselves fell into the very snare they had laid for the enemy, whom they attacked in disorder, and with unequal force. The cannon which M. de Valiere had planted upon the Maine, raked the enemy's flank, and that of the Hanoverians in particular ; but they had batteries on the other hand, which took the French army in front. The advantage of cannon, which is very great, was soon over-balanced ; the artillery on the banks of the Maine being rendered useless, as in the confusion it must have annoyed the French themselves, in case of its being properly served. Marshal Noailles returned the moment the fault had been committed, and all he could do was to endeavour to repair it by the courage of his troops. The king's household and the carabineers at the first onset broke thro' two whole lines of the enemy's cavalry * ; but they formed again instantly, and the French were surrounded. The officers of the regiment of guards marched on boldly at the head of a small body of infantry : twenty-one of these were killed upon the spot, as many more wounded dangerously, and the regiment of guards was intirely routed.

* The household troops of France made a rash and impetuous attack upon part of the English first line of infantry, and some few of them penetrated ; but they were all killed or taken to a man.

The duke de Chartres, the prince de Clermont, the count d'Eu, and the duke de Penthièvre, though so very young, exerted their utmost endeavours to put a stop to the disorder. The count de Noailles had two horses killed under him, and his brother, the duke d'Ayen, was thrown from the saddle.

The marquis de Puifegur, son of the marshal of that name, harrangued the soldiers of his regiment to encourage them ; followed and rallied, as much as in his power, those that fled ; nay some of them, who would not stand, but cried out " for each man to save himself, " he killed with his own hand. The princes and dukes de Biron, Luxemburgh, Boufflers, Chevreuse, and Peguiny, advanced at the head of the brigades they met with, and, leading them on, penetrated into the enemy's lines. On the other hand, nothing could abate the courage of the king's household troops and the carabineers. Here one might see a company of guards and two hundred musketeers ; there a few troops of cavalry advancing with some light horse, with others following the carabineers, or horse-grenadiers, running upon the English sword in hand, with more bravery than discipline ; nay, so little was discipline observed among them, that about fifty musketeers heroically forced their way through a regiment of horse, called the Scotch Greys ; a regiment highly esteemed by the English, made up of picked men, choicely mounted. We may well imagine what must be the fate of fifty young fellows poorly mounted, against a body by whom they were so considerably out numbered.

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They were almost all killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. The son of the marquis de Fenelon was taken prisoner in the last rank of the regiment of Scotch Greys; twenty-seven officers of the king's household troops perished in this fight, and sixty-six were dangerously wounded: among the latter were count d'Eu, count d'Harcourt, count de Beavron, and duke de Boufflers: count de la Motte Houdancourt, gentleman-usher to the queen, had his horse killed under him; and, after being trampled almost to death by the cavalry, was carried off the field almost dead; the arm of the marquis de Gontaud was broken; the duke de Rochechouart, first lord of the bed-chamber, having been twice wounded, and continuing still to fight, was at length killed on the spot; as was also the marquises de Sabran, Fleury, the count d'Estrades, and the count de Rostaing. The death of a count de Boufflers, of the branch of Ramiencourt, should not be overlooked among the singularities of this unfortunate day: he was only ten years and a half old: his leg being broken by a cannon-ball, he sustained the stroke, the cutting off his leg, and even met death itself with amazing intrepidity. So much youth, tempered with such valour, melted into tears all who were witnesses of his misfortune!

Nor was the loss among the English officers much less considerable. The king of England himself fought both on foot and on horseback, both at the head of the cavalry and infantry. The duke of Cumberland was wounded by his side, and the duke d'Arenberg received a musket-ball in his breast: the English lost se-

veral general officers *. The battle lasted three hours with great inequality. Courage alone was opposed to valour, number, and discipline. At length marshal Noailles ordered a retreat; nor was it done without some confusion †. The king of England dined upon the field of battle, and then retired, without giving himself time to carry off the wounded, of whom he left about six hundred behind him, who were recommended by Lord Stair to M. Noailles's generosity. The French treated them like their countrymen: they behaved to each other with civility and respect; while, on the other hand, during this whole war, the Hungarians, less civilized indeed, shewed nothing but a spirit of rapine and barbarity.

The two generals wrote letters to each other, that plainly shew to what height politeness and humanity may be carried amidst all the horrors of a war. There are these words in a letter written by Lord Stair to marshal Noailles from Hanau, and dated June 30. "I have sent back all the French prisoners of whom I had any knowlege; and I have given orders for the releasement of all such as may have fallen into the hands of the Hanoverians.

* The generals Clayton and Murray were the only officers of distinction killed in the allied army. Among the wounded were the earl of Albemarle and general Hufke,

† Had not the troops which the earl of Stair detached in pursuit of the French, been countermanded, this battle would, in all probability, have been decisive; but the enemy were allowed to repass the Mayne without molestation, though a considerable number of them perished in that river, through the precipitation of their fear.

You will, I hope, permit me to thank you for the very generous behaviour you have shewn, which is, indeed, entirely conformable to the high opinion I always professed to entertain for monsieur the duke de Noailles. I am, Sir, particularly obliged to you for the care you have so benevolently taken of our wounded."

Nor was this greatness of soul peculiar to the earl of Stair and the duke de Noailles. There was an act of generosity of the duke of Cumberland's, that above all others ought to be handed down to posterity. A musketeer, named Girardeau, being dangerously wounded, was brought near his highness's tent; surgeons were much wanting; those they had were taken up elsewhere: they were now going to dress the duke's leg, which had been wounded in the calf by a musket-ball *: "Begin, said he nobly, with the wound of that French officer; he is more dangerously hurt than I am, and stands in need of more assistance; I shall as yet want none." The loss of both armies was nearly the same: there were 2231 men of the allies killed and wounded. This computation was taken from the account of the English, who seldom diminish their own loss, and never augment that of the enemy.

This battle was not unlike that of Czaflau in Bohemia, or that of Campo Santo in Italy. Great exploits were performed, much blood spilled, and neither side reaped any advantage. The loss of the French was considerable, in

* It was a grape shot, which penetrated through the fleshy part of the leg,

blasting, by a precipitate and disorderly warmth, the fruits that might have been otherwise gathered from the finest disposition imaginable: the battles of Creci and Poictiers had been lost by conduct of a similar nature. The king of England, who here acquired great honour, reaped no other benefit from the victory, than that of hastily retiring from the field of battle to seek subsistence at Hanau. The author of this history meeting with Lord Stair some weeks after the battle, took the liberty to ask him his opinion of it: "It is my opinion, said that general, that you have committed one fault, and we two: yours was passing the hollow way, not having patience to wait: our two were, exposing ourselves first to the danger of being all destroyed; and secondly, not having pursued our victory, by making a proper use of it."

Never had man greater reason to complain than M. de Noailles, who saw himself by one precipitate moment cut off from all the glories of a battle that might have finished the war: yet he did not complain; he recriminated upon nobody; his regard for his nephew outdid the care of his own justification. He satisfied himself with barely representing to the king his master, in a letter as wise and eloquent as it was instructive, the great necessity there was for re-establishing a proper discipline.

Many French and English officers went, after this action, to Frankfort, a town that always remains neuter, where the emperor had then retired; who saw one after another Lord Stair and marshal de Noailles, without manifesting

feeling to them any other sentiments than those of patience in his days of evil fortune.

Marshal Broglie's precipitate retreat from the frontiers of Bavaria, which was made about the same time, was attended with consequences still more dreadful to the emperor than those of the battle of Dettingen. Marshal Broglie, who had long been dissatisfied with marshal Seckendorff, the Bavarian general, had always declared both by letter and word of mouth, even before the campaign, that he could not keep Bavaria. He departed from thence about the end of June, at the same time nearly that the emperor, believing himself no longer safe at Augsburgh, took shelter at Frankfort, where he arrived the 27th at night, being the very day on which the battle was fought.

Marshal Noailles found the emperor infinitely chagrined on account of marshal Broglie's retreat; and to augment his misfortunes, he was without subsistence for himself and his family, in an imperial town, where nobody would advance him any thing, though the head of the empire. Marshal Noailles gave him forty thousand crowns upon a letter of credit, being certain that the king his master would not disapprove such an action.

Marshal Broglie had, on his retreating, left the emperor still possessed of Straubing, Ingoldstadt on the Danube, and Egra on the Eger, upon the confines of the upper Palatinate, and they were all blockaded. There were, moreover, some Bavarian troops still in Branaw, which place the Austrians had a long time neglected to besiege in form; but being masters of
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all the country round, it soon capitulated. Straubing, in which were twelve hundred French, immediately followed its example. These twelve hundred men were conducted to the main body of the army, which was then quitting Bavaria, and directing its march towards the Neckar. When at length they arrived there, their number was dwindled away at least twenty-five thousand, more of whom were lost by desertion and sickness, than the sword of the enemy.

The putting the emperor Charles VII. in possession of Vienna or Prague was now no longer meditated. They were obliged to turn their views to the defence of the French frontiers, threatened by two victorious armies, that of prince Charles and the king of England. France had, in three campaigns, sent to the emperor's assistance in Bavaria and Bohemia upwards of an hundred and twenty-five thousand fighting men; out of all which marshal Broglio brought back about thirty thousand. The emperor plunged in the deepest despair, demanded of the king, that marshal Broglio should be sent into exile: his majesty thought himself under a necessity of giving his griefs that satisfaction; of giving that weak and ineffectual consolation to his misfortunes.

One would be apt to think, that there must have been some radical defect in the conduct of this grand enterprize, in which such repeated efforts had proved futile and abortive. Perhaps the failure arose from hence: the Bavarian emperor had neither strong towns, nor good troops in his dominions; his authority over the French
army

army was foreign and confined; and his bad state of health rendered him incapable of pushing the war vigorously against an enemy which was daily acquiring power; all these points considered, they were certainly much to his disadvantage. A prince should be able to act upon his own foundation who attempts to set on foot such vast enterprizes; for never did any prince make a very important conquest barely by the help of another person.



CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

The emperor Charles VII. undergoes fresh disgraces. A new treaty among his enemies. Lewis XV. supports, at one and the same time, the emperor, the Infant Don Philip of Spain, and prince Charles Edward, who attempts to ascend the throne of his ancestors in England. The battle of Toulon.

THE emperor remained at Frankfort, to all appearance without either allies or enemies, nay indeed without subjects. The queen of Hungary had caused all the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Upper Palatinate to take an oath of allegiance to her, against which exacted oath the Bavarian emperor in Frankfort protested. A printer in the town of Stadamahof was condemned to be hanged in the market-place for having printed this protest made by his sovereign. Nor did they stop at these insults; for shortly after the council of Austria presented to the imperial diet, even in the town of Frankfort, memorials, wherein the election of Charles VII. was treated as null, and absolutely void. The new elector of Mentz, high chancellor of the empire, to which dignity he had been advanced against the emperor's will, registered these pieces in the Protocol of the empire. Charles could only complain, which he did, by written remonstrances, while, to finish his disgrace, the king of England, as elector of Hanover, wrote him word, that the queen of Hungary and the elector of Mentz were

were in the right. In fine, they talked of forcing him to abdicate the imperial throne, and to resign it in favour of the Duke of Tuscany.

In the mean while, the emperor having declared himself neuter, the allies were stripping him of his dominions; so that the king of France, who had on his account engaged in the war, had more reason than ever to proclaim he would no longer meddle with the affairs of the empire; and this was pronounced as his resolution solemnly by his minister at Ratisbon, July the 6th. Such a disposition might, at any other time, have produced a separate peace; but England and Austria wanted to improve their advantage. These powers aimed at compelling the emperor to request, that his enemy the grand duke of Tuscany should be advanced to the dignity of king of the Romans; and they also flattered themselves with hopes of being able to penetrate into Alsace and Lorraine. Thus do we see an offensive war began at the gates of Vienna, turned into a defensive one on the banks of the Rhine.

August 4th, prince Charles made a lodgement upon an island in that river, near old Brisack: on the other side, some Hungarian parties had advanced beyond the Sarre, and committed some outrages on the frontiers of Lorraine. The same Mentzel, who had been the first that took Munich, had the insolence to disperse a writing, under the name of a declaration or manifesto, dated August the 20th, and addressed to the inhabitants of Alsace, Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the three bishoprics, inviting them to return, as he called it, to the obedience of the house of Austria: he also threatened

ened to hang up all such of them as should take up arms against him, but that he should first compel them, with their own hands, to cut off their noses and ears. Such brutal ferocity produced only contempt: the frontiers were well guarded, and a detachment from prince Charles's army having passed the Rhine, were cut in pieces, August the 4th, by count de Berenger.

About the end of July, the army under marshal Noailles encamped in the neighbourhood of Spire. Count Maurice of Saxony was in the Upper Alsace, at the head of a corps drawn from the remains of Broglie's army, and some troops draughted from the frontier towns. The duke d'Harcourt commanded on the Moselle. The marquis de Montal defended Lorraine. Nor was it sufficient to guard the frontiers only; an open war with England was foreseen, and also with the king of Sardinia, who had not as yet indeed concluded a definitive treaty with the court of Vienna, but was not therefore the less closely attached to its interest.

The king of France, now deserted by Prussia, was in much the same situation as his great-grandfather had been formerly, united with Spain, against the forces of a new house of Austria, England, Holland, and Savoy. He therefore caused several ships of war to be built and fitted out forthwith at Brest; he augmented his land-forces, and reinforced Don Philip with twelve thousand men: how small an assistance when compared to the numbers he had lavished in the service of the Bavarian emperor! but in effect more useful, because they seconded the
enterprizes

enterprizes of a young prince who depended upon the power of Spain to secure him an establishment. The king, not content with succouring his allies, and securing his frontiers, resolved also in person to head his army in Alsace; and to that end had caused his field equipage to be got in readiness. He acquainted marshal Noailles with his design, who answered him in these words: "Your majesty's affairs are neither so prosperous nor so declining as to require your taking such a step at present." He advanced other reasons, and the king admitted them, being determined to make the next campaign afterwards.

Out of the various conquests the French arms had made for the emperor, there now remained to him only Egra in Bohemia, and Ingolstadt in Bavaria, on the banks of the Danube.

The extremities to which the French in Egra were reduced, by far exceeded what they had so cruelly suffered in Prague. For eight months they had scarcely tasted any bread, and if any of the soldiers ventured but ever so little into the country to gather pulse, they were killed by the Pandours. They had neither provisions, money, nor hope of being assisted. The marquis de Herouville, who commanded in the town with six battalions, caused some temporary money to be coined, as had been formerly done at the siege of Pavia in the reign of Francis I. This of Egra was a bit of pewter, valued at half a sous. It stood, indeed, in the place of silver, but could not remedy the want of provisions. The marquis Désaleurs sent them a convoy, but it was taken by the

the besiegers. The garrison was at length obliged to surrender prisoners of war: the officers and soldiers were dispersed through Bohemia and Austria, where they found many of their countrymen. There had been more than nine thousand French taken in the course of three years, who found themselves very rigorously treated; the spirit of revenge being united to the severity of war, and sharpened by national animosity.

The defenders of Ingolstadt were more fortunate. M. de Grandeville, who commanded a garrison of about three thousand men, obtained not only liberty to retreat in safety, but even compelled general Bernklaw, who besieged him, to grant a free passage to the French, who were scattered in different towns in Bavaria under his command. This is the first instance of a garrison's capitulating for other troops besides themselves. In the mean time, neither the king of England nor prince Charles could make any impression on the Rhine against the French; and the remainder of the campaign justified what marshal Noailles had said to the king, that his affairs were neither flourishing nor desperate. All the belligerent powers were by turns agitated by fear and hope; each had its losses and misfortunes to repair. Naples and Sicily were afflicted with the scourge of pestilence, and prepared for that of war; not without standing at the same time in fear of some conspiracies in favour of the house of Austria.

The king of Naples, having augmented his army to twenty six thousand men, employed twelve thousand of them in securing the frontiers

riers of Calabria against the progress of the pestilence, which was done by forming a chain of vast extent: the rest of his army remained on the borders of Abbruzzo, waiting a favourable opportunity to act in conjunction with the Spanish army, then commanded by the duke of Modena, and count de Gages. The city of Naples, now put into a proper state of defence, no longer feared the insults or orders of the English captains of men of war. Don Philip, in Savoy, waited either to come to an accommodation with the king of Sardinia, or to subdue him with the assistance of France. The king of Sardinia, after having long cautiously weighed both the danger and advantage, imagined it now more his interest than ever to join with Austria and England against France. Although he had assisted the cause of the queen of Hungary for more than a year, he had not as yet become her ally; he at length declared himself such, however, in a formal and efficacious manner, at Worms, on the 13th of September, 1743; a treaty of alliance which was founded entirely on the bad success of the French arms in Germany.

This monarch gained possession of the Tortonese, the Vallais, part of the Novarese, and the territorial superiority of the fiefs of Langhes, by taking arms against the queen of Hungary's father; and, by declaring on the side of the daughter, he acquired the Vigevanasco, the remainder of the Novarese, Parma, and Placentia. The English, who had heretofore allowed him a subsidy, gave him by this treaty two hundred thousand pistoles a-year, which is upwards of four hundred thousand of our livres: he

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was then at the head of thirty-six thousand men, and the English fleet under admiral Matthews was stationed upon the coast, and always at hand to second his undertakings : but he missed of the fruits he might have gathered from this advantage, and verified the old maxim, "A half is sometimes better than a whole."

By this treaty the queen of Hungary ceded to him the marquisate of Final, which belonged to neither of them: it was the property of the Genoese, who had purchased it of the late emperor for one million two hundred thousand crowns, of which no care was taken to reimburse them ; for, though the king of Sardinia offered them that sum, it was only on condition that they should rebuild the castle which they had demolished, whereby they would have been at a much more considerable expence. This liberal disposal of other people's property gained France one ally more. Genoa had long been secretly attached to her service, and she now linked herself more closely to it than ever. The harbour of Genoa might be of great utility, and the English fleet could not block it up always. Thus the king of Sardinia reduced the Genoese to the necessity of becoming his declared enemies, and opened the way to a dangerous diversion against himself ; for Don Philip, having now a second time made himself master of Savoy, September 18, 1742, proposed to pass the Alps ; and that the Spanish and Neapolitan armies should join in the Bolognese, or even in Lombardy.

The chance of war was therefore to decide, whether the two brothers, Don Carlos king of Naples, and the Infant Don Philip, should penetrate

netrate into the midst of Italy; or whether, on the other hand, the king of Sardinia should, on one side, guard the passage of the Alps, while, on another, the queen of Hungary should seize upon the kingdom of Naples, although a manifest violation of the neutrality subsisting between her and Don Carlos.

In the mean while, England and Austria reckoned, that, in the approaching spring, they should be able to attack France in Alsace, and Flanders; and the war was now about to be renewed on all sides with greater violence, without there being any open rupture, except that between England and Spain on account of the commerce in America; a rupture which seemed to have no relation to the interests which divided Europe: but yet it influenced them in a most essential manner.

The emperor Charles VII. stripped of every thing, had now no seeming resource left; yet the king of France prepared really to assist him; and the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the treaty of Breslau, and the defensive alliance subsisting between him and the king of England, was yet more in the interest of the emperor, as he had no longer any room to doubt that the court of Vienna had an intention, the first fair opportunity, to attempt the recovery of Silesia. The courts of France and Prussia were now again on the point of joining in the common cause, and for the interest of an emperor, who seemed on every hand abandoned or oppressed.

In the beginning of the year 1744, the king of France determined to declare war against the king of England and the queen of Hungary: he had no longer any measures to keep with the English,

English, by whom his ships were continually insulted; nor with Austria, who threatened to carry the war into France, and would not give up a single prisoner, though the terms had been stipulated by cartel in 1741.

The first effect of this change was a secret and bold enterprize, which would have quickly given a new face to one part of Europe, had it been successful.

The house of the Stuarts, which, for the space of fifty-four years, had pined in exile far distant from the kingdoms of which it had been stripped, had still many secret partizans in Scotland and Ireland; nor was it without some few in England. Prince Charles Edward, grandson to James II. and son to that prince who has been so long known to all Europe by the title of the Pretender, joined to all the ardour of youth, and resentment of his condition, the most enterprising and determined courage: he had been often heard to say, he would have either a crown or a scaffold. France, which had long been the asylum of that family, became now necessarily its chief support; and there was a probability that Lewis XV. might, in his first campaign, have restored the emperor to his dominions, and the heir of the Stuarts to the throne of Great Britain. January 9, the young prince Edward left Rome, and set out upon his expedition with a spirit of secrecy and diligence that marked him born for great enterprizes: he concealed his journey from a brother whom he loved affectionately, and who would not have suffered him to have proceeded without accompanying him. On the 13th he arrived at Genoa disguised like a Spanish courier; and the day after
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he embarked for Antibes, attended only by one servant, landed safely, and soon reached Paris ; nor were the necessary preparations made in France, for conducting him to the British coast, carried on with less secrecy.

The efforts which France now made could hardly have been expected by England, considering the low state in which the French marine had been for some years sunk. She fitted out twenty-six ships of war at Rochefort and Brest, with incredible diligence, and a report was spread, that this squadron was to join a Spanish fleet which had lain at Toulon upwards of two years, and where it was blocked up by admiral Matthews. Twenty ships of war set sail from Brest, carrying four thousand land-forces, with arms and ammunition in proportion ; and they were joined between Ushant and Sorlingues by five sail from Rochefort, commanded by M. du Barail.

This fleet having entered the British channel, divided itself into three squadrons : the strongest, consisting of fourteen vessels, cruized off the coast of Kent ; the second was to station itself between Calais and Boulogne ; while the third bent its course towards Dunkirk. Count Saxe was at the head of this expedition. The first of March he embarked at Dunkirk, with nine battalions ; as did count de Chaila, with six more, the day following.

Prince Edward was on board the same vessel with count Saxe, and for the first time had a sight of the desired land. But a violent storm arising, drove the transports back upon the French coast, and many soldiers perished endeavouring to gain the shore. The young prince

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would have again attempted the passage with a single vessel. He imagined that his courage and resolution would gain him subjects the moment he should arrive in Great Britain. But the sea, as well as the dispositions made along the English coast to prevent his landing, hindered him from making the attempt.

The court of London was informed of this enterprize so early as the fifteenth of February. The Dutch, as allies to king George, had already sent over two thousand men * to his assistance, and were to furnish six thousand, according to their treaty of 1716. Admiral Norris, with a formidable squadron, was in the Downs, which present a continued chain of ports along the Kentish coast, where ships ride secure from bad weather. The militia was also raised; and thus miscarried an enterprize which had been conducted with more art than any conspiracy that had ever been set on foot in England; for king George knew there had been a plot, but could never discover the authors of it. No insight was gained in this matter from the persons who were taken into custody at London, and the government re-

* The Dutch sent no men to England until the rebellion was actually begun in 1745. Our author gives but a lame account of this French expedition to the coast of England. The truth is, Sir John Norris, at the head of a powerful squadron, had, by taking advantage of the tide, against the wind, got within six miles of the French fleet, and in all probability would have given a good account of it in the morning, had not a violent tempest afforded them an opportunity of bearing away in the night, without any danger of being pursued: but they never thought proper to repeat the attempt.

maintained as before involved in trouble and perplexity.

Every thing contributed at this time to favour the undertaking. The English troops were abroad, distributed in different parts of the Austrian Netherlands. There was likewise another advantage attending it. It employed the English fleet, which was to reinforce admiral Matthews, and it was also concerted that his fleet should be engaged by the men of war which France was to leave in the Mediterranean ; which for that purpose were to join the Spanish fleet which was to sail from Toulon at the time that prince Edward was landing in Great Britain.

There were now actually at Toulon sixteen Spanish ships of war, which were at first intended to escort Don Philip to Italy ; but they had been blocked up for two years by admiral Matthews's fleet, which lorded it in the Mediterranean, and insulted all the coasts of Italy and Provence. The Spanish gunners, being but indifferently skilled in the science they professed, had been for four months exercised in shooting at a mark, and their industry and emulation excited by prizes.

When these were supposed sufficiently expert, the Spanish squadron commanded by Don Joseph Navarro, sailed from the road of Toulon. It consisted indeed of but twelve sail, there not being sailors and gunners enough to man the rest. They were soon joined by fourteen French ships of the line, four frigates, and three fire-ships, commanded by M. de Court, who had all the vigour, both of mind and body, necessary to such a command, though fourscore

years of age. Forty years before, he had commanded as captain on board the admiral's ship in a sea-fight off Malaga, and there had been no naval engagement since in any part of the world, that of Messina excepted, which was fought in 1718. Admiral Matthews set sail to meet the combined squadrons of France and Spain. It may not be amiss to remark here, that the degree of admiral in England does not answer to the dignity of admiral in France. There are three admirals in the English service, each of whom has his separate division, subservient to the orders of the lord high admiral, or the board of admiralty.

Matthews' fleet consisted of forty five sail, five frigates, and four fire-ships: and to the advantage of number they also joined that of having the wind; a circumstance on which the success in a sea-fight often depends, as much as a victory by land does upon the advantage of ground. The English were the first who drew up a fleet for engaging in the manner at present practised; other nations have learned from them to divide their squadrons into van, rear, and center. You are not to imagine, that these divisions are three lines; on the contrary, they form only one. The van is to the right, the rear to the left, and the center in the middle, so that the vessels never present more than one side.

This was the order of battle off Toulon. The shifting of the wind threw the Spaniards into the rear. Admiral Matthews, still taking advantage of the wind, fell upon them with his division. There should never be more space between the vessels than sixty fathoms; at this distance

distance they are as close as they should be, and then one vessel can be in no danger of being attacked by many. But it is very difficult for a whole fleet to govern itself so as to observe this order exactly. The Spanish ships were too far from each other. Two of them were disabled by the very first broadsides; and Matthews had an opportunity of falling upon the Spanish admiral with several of his ships. This vessel, on board of which was Don Joseph de Navarro, was called the Real: she carried a thousand men, and was bored for an hundred and ten pieces of cannon; her upper works were amazingly strong, the planks, together with the ribs, being at least three feet in thickness, so that they were impenetrable to a cannon-ball *. It is also proper to take notice, that the English fire more at the rigging than the hull, preferring the disabling and seizing upon a ship to sinking her.

The Spanish admiral was at one and the same time attacked by the admiral and four ships of the line, who poured upon him jointly a most dreadful fire. Matthews depended upon making her a very easy capture, relying upon his own great experience in naval affairs, and the Spaniards not being used to them, as well as Navarro's being a land-officer, redoubled his hopes. Every Spanish ship also being attacked at once by more than one of the enemy, there

* M. de Voltaire seems to be little acquainted with the doctrine of resistance. If the battery is within point blank, and mounted with battering cannon, the shot will penetrate twice the thickness here described. And as for his observation, that the English fire chiefly at the rigging, it is expressly contrary to fact.

was a probability of their being overpowered. Every man on the deck of the Royal Philip was either killed or wounded. The captain of the admiral's ship was mortally wounded, and Don Navarro being wounded in two places, was obliged leave the deck.

Chevalier de Lage, a French officer in the Spanish service, and second captain of the admiral's ship, maintained the fight against five English vessels. Admiral Matthews was astonished at the quickness with which the Spaniards fired their lower tier of guns, which violently annoyed every thing that came within reach, so that he dispatched a fire-ship to destroy her. These kind of vessels are filled with gunpowder, granadoes*, and other combustibles; and they fasten upon an enemy's ship with grappling irons. The moment they are fast together, they set a match to the train of the fire ship, while the crew hastens to the boat, and the captain is the last who enters it. In the mean time, the fire taking place, the ship is blown up by the force of the powder, together with the vessel to which it is grappled.

This engine of destruction was within fifteen paces of the Royal Philip, when some of the officers proposed to strike and surrender: "You have forgot then, said M. de Lage, that I am on board!" when pointing with his own hand three pieces of cannon against the fire-ship, they took place, and the vessel was near going to the bottom. The unhappy captain seeing his destruction inevitable, determined at

* There is no such thing as granadoes aboard any fire-ship.

least to avenge himself at the moment of his death. He ordered fire to be set to the train, hoping that he might yet work down upon the Royal Philip, and blow her up along with himself. But it was too late; the ship was soon in flames, and blew up within seven or eight feet of the Spanish admiral, the deck of which was covered with the wreck. M. de Lage says he saw the body of the English captain and some sailors reduced in a moment to a coal, not above two feet long, and as light as a cork. The Royal Philip did not receive the slightest damage * from this violent explosion.

M. de Court, who hoisted his flag on board the Terrible, and fought in the center, was at one time engaged with three ships within pistol-shot. He did the enemy a great deal of mischief, and getting clear of them, bore down to the assistance of the Spanish admiral and fleet. The English could only make themselves masters of one single Spanish ship called the Poder, which was entirely dismasted. They had already sent some of their hands on board to navigate the vessel, and the remainder of her crew, consisting of four hundred Spaniards, were obliged to surrender. Matthews was at this time retreating; and the English on board the Poder, being busied in securing their prize, were themselves made prisoners. Superiority of numbers was of no service to the English fleet; for their rear, commanded by vice-admiral Lestock, was at four miles distance.

* The failure of the fire ship was entirely owing to the misconduct of the captain who commanded the ship which was ordered to cover her on going down to the enemy.

Whether Lestock, at variance with Matthews, would have willingly deprived him of the glory of the day, or whether Matthews did not chuse to share with him that glory, is a question we cannot here decide. Be that as it may, a brisk wind springing up from the West in the night, obliged the fleets to separate, and each drew off to repair their damage. The English retired into Portmahon, the French into Carthagena, and the Spaniards into Barcelona.

This action of Toulon, like almost all sea-fights, that of la Hogue excepted, was quite indecisive. In these engagements it commonly happens that the only fruit of great preparations, and indefatigable contention, is the slaughter of many men, and disabling vessels. There were complaints from all parties; the Spaniards supposed they had not been sufficiently supported, and the French accused them of want of gratitude. Though there was an alliance between the two nations, there had not been always unanimity. Their antient antipathy was sometimes kindled in the breasts of the Spaniards, notwithstanding the agreement of their kings. On the other hand, Matthews preferred complaints against his vice-admiral to the government, and sent him home to be tried. He retorted the accusation upon the admiral, to whose bravery and conduct M. de Court publicly subscribed, and he repaid the compliment. If his fate was hard in being accused of misbehaviour by his own officers, it was, however, glorious for him to be acquitted by the enemy. However, to gratify the Spaniards, the French commandant was banished to his country house, two leagues from Paris: and the

the English admiral, being, after a long trial, brought in guilty, was, by a council of war, which is in England called a court-martial, declared for ever incapable of serving the crown *.

The custom of judging severely, and of stigmatizing unsuccessful generals, had been lately brought into Christendom from Turkey. The emperor Charles VI. had given two examples of it in his last war against the Turks, which war was looked upon by all Europe to have been as injudiciously planned as it was unfortunately fought. The Swedes, since that, condemned to death two of their generals, whose fate all Europe lamented; nor did this severity make their domestic government happier or more respectable. A subject so important deserves to be dwelt upon a little.

The government of France, directed by principles of greater lenity, are satisfied with inflicting only a slight disgrace upon their general officers, for that very conduct which would induce other states to lay them in irons, or cut off their heads. To me it is very plain, that neither justice nor well-founded policy require that the life of a general should depend upon bad success; surely unless he be a rebel or a traitor he will do his utmost, and there is no sort of equity in cruelly punishing a man who

* The issue of this court-martial was indeed very extraordinary, and the conduct of Lestock very problematical. The officer who had displayed the greatest courage and spirit, possibly not sufficiently tempered with conduct, scarce escaped suffering an ignominious death for cowardice; while the rear admiral, who had kept aloof during the whole engagement, and hazarded the destruction of his superior and half the fleet, by disobeying signals, was acquitted with honour.

has acquitted himself to the best of his abilities; nor is it, perhaps, sound policy to introduce the custom of prosecuting a general who is unfortunate; because in that case, those who begin a campaign indifferently in the service of their natural prince, may be tempted to conclude it in that of the enemy.

The consequences, however, proved, that the advantage in the Toulon engagement was on the side of France and Spain. The Mediterranean was left open, at least for some time, and Don Philip was easily supplied with provisions, which he much wanted, from the coast of Provence: but neither the French nor Spanish squadrons were able to make head against Matthews, when he returned to his station, having refitted his ships. France and Spain, being under a necessity of always supporting a very numerous land-army, have not that inexhaustible fund of sailors which are the resource of Great Britain's power: it was now more evident than ever, that it was of vast importance to that crown to keep Minorca, and the loss of it very prejudicial to Spain. It was a melancholy consideration, that those islanders should have been able to deprive the Spanish monarchy of a port still more useful than Gibraltar; and which from its situation gave them always the power to harass, at one and the same time, Spain, Italy, and France. Spain, which possessed harbours in Africa, in spite of the Moors, yet could not hinder the English from keeping ports in her own dominions, and that against her will.

END of the FIRST PART.

THE
HISTORY
OF THE
WAR of 1741.

PART II.

CHAP. I.

*The prince of Conti forces the passage of the Alps.
Situation of affairs in Italy.*

IN the midst of all these struggles, Lewis XVI declared war against the king of Great Britain, and soon after against the queen of Hungary, who in return declared it also against him in form; but these declarations, on both sides, were little more than additional ceremonies. Spain and Naples made war without declaring it.

Don Philip was at the head of twenty thousand Spaniards, under the command of the mar-

quis de la Mina, and the prince of Conti had with him twenty thousand French ; both these leaders inspired their troops with that confidence and resolution so necessary for penetrating into a country where a single battalion may stop a whole army, where you are every instant obliged to fight among rocks and torrents, and where all these obstacles are heightened by the difficulty of convoys. The prince of Conti, who had served as a lieutenant-general in the unsuccessful war of Bavaria, young as he was, had acquired experience, and understood the consequence of those disappointments to which an army is exposed almost every campaign. He had not as yet seen a campaign in Italy, where war is carried on in a very different manner from what it is in open countries ; but he had prepared himself for this expedition by a constant application of ten hours in a day, during the winter which he passed at Paris. He knew even the smallest rock, and was perfectly master of all that had been performed under marshal Catinat and the duke of Vendôme, as if he had been present himself.

The first of April the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti passed the Var, a river which falls from the Alps, and empties itself into the sea of Genoa below Nice. The whole country of that name surrendered ; but, before they could advance any farther, they were under a necessity of attacking the intrenchments near Villa Franca, and those of the fortress of Montalban, in the midst of rocks which form a long chain of almost inaccessible ramparts. There was no possibility of marching but thro' narrow defiles, and over frightful precipices,
exposed

exposed to the enemy's artillery. Full in the front of this fire, they were obliged to climb up from rock to rock, and even on the Alps they had the English to encounter. Admiral Matthews, having careened his ships, was returned to assume the empire of the seas: he landed with some of his men at Villa Franca, who joined the Piedmontese; and his gunners served the artillery. But the prince of Conti concerted his measures so well, and his troops were so full of spirits, that they surmounted all these obstacles. The marquis de Bissy at the head of the French, and the marquis of Campo Santo at the head of the Spaniards, soon made themselves masters of the enemies batteries, which flanked the passage of Villa Franca. M. de Mirepoix and M. d'Argouges opened another way for themselves: they made four false attacks where they had no intention to penetrate; but M. de Bissy made two such brisk assaults against those places which he intended to carry; every thing was so well concerted, so quick, and so vigorously pushed; M. d'Argouges, at the head of the regiments of Languedoc, and of the isle of France; and M. du Barrail with his regiment, made such prodigious efforts, that this rampart of Piedmont, above two hundred fathoms high, which the king of Sardinia imagined to be quite out of their reach, was carried by the French and Spaniards.

On the one side, M. du Chatel and M. de Castelar ascended through very narrow bye-ways to an eminence called Mount Eleus, from whence they drove the Piedmontese; on the other side, the marquis de Bissy fought for two hours on the top of a rock called Monte Grosso.

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When the French and Spaniards had clambered up to the top of the rock, and saw that they must either conquer or die, they treated one another as brothers; they assisted each other with ardour; and, joining their efforts, they battered down the intrenchments of the enemy. This rock was defended by fourteen battalions, who had a secure retreat. One hundred and thirty officers of the Piedmontese, with seventeen hundred men, were taken prisoners, and two thousand were killed. The marquis de Suze, natural brother of the king of Sardinia, was obliged to surrender himself prisoner to M. de Bissy. The top of the mountain, on which the marquis du Chatel had taken post, commanded the enemy's entrenchments; so that at length they were obliged to fly to Oneglia, to the number of three thousand men, and embark on board admiral Matthews's fleet, who was witness of the defeat. The count de Choiseul brought the king the news of this victory, in which this officer had distinguished himself. They advanced from post to post, from rock to rock: they took the citadel of Villa Franca, and the fort of Montalban, where they found above one hundred and forty pieces of cannon, with provisions in proportion. But all this was no more than dividing the dominion of the Alps, and fighting on the top of high mountains.

While these passes were thus forcing in favour of Don Philip, he was not yet much nearer the dominions to which he pretended in Italy. The duke of Modena was also as far from retaking the country of that name, as the infant from penetrating to Parma and Milan. The

Austrians and the Piedmontese were masters every where, from the top of the Alps to the frontiers of the kingdom of Naples. The court of Spain had recalled the duke of Montemar; and count Gages, under the duke of Modena, was gathering together the remains of the Spanish army, which was still retiring before the Austrians, who had already laid the province of Abruzzo under contribution. The king of Naples could no longer observe an unfortunate neutrality, which had been greatly abused, and would have only contributed to deprive him of his crown. He therefore set out for Naples, to put himself at the head of his army. The queen, who was then pregnant, withdrew to Cajeta the latter end of April 1744; and it was even proposed to remove her to Rome; in case of any unlucky blow, or of an insurrection in Naples, with which the Austrians affected to frighten him. Such was the vicissitude of affairs, that the queen of Hungary, who three years before had been obliged to leave Vienna, thought herself very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples. Prince Lobkowitz had a manifesto ready, copies of which he afterwards spread through the kingdom towards the month of June, wherein the queen of Hungary addressed herself to the inhabitants of the two Sicilies, as to subjects to whom she was granting her protection.

England at this time exerted herself more than ever in this queen's cause; she augmented her subsidies, and spent upon the war of this year 1744 two hundred and seventy-four millions nine hundred and sixty-four thousand livres, French money; and this expence was
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augmented every year. She maintained a fleet in the Mediterranean, which entirely ruined the trade of Provence : she recalled the troops that fought at Dettingen back to Flanders; and these, joined to the Flemish and Dutch regiments, formed, in the beginning of the campaign, an army of above sixty thousand men. Prince Charles, with the like number of forces, was coming to make another attempt to pass the Rhine. The emperor, whose neutrality was imaginary, while his misfortunes were but too real, preserved the shattered remains of his army under the cannon of the imperial city of Philipsburgh ; and waited for his fate at Frankfort, uncertain whether he should be maintained in possession of the imperial crown by France, or stripped of it by the queen of Hungary.

C H A P. II.

First campaign of Lewis XV. in Flanders: his successes: he leaves Flanders to fly to the defence of Alsace, invaded by the Austrians, whilst the prince of Conti continues to force a passage thro' the Alps. New alliances. The king of Prussia once more takes up arms.

SUCH was the critical and dangerous situation of affairs when Lewis XV. began his first campaign. He had appointed marshal Coigni to defend the passage of the Rhine with sixty-one battalions and one hundred squadrons. The Bavarian troops, consisting of near twelve thousand men, and paid by France, were commanded by count Seckendorff, an officer on whom they at that time had the greatest dependence. Marshal Noailles was general of the army in Flanders, which consisted of sixty-eight battalions and ninety-seven squadrons complete. Count Saxe was made marshal of France, and commanded a separate corps, composed of thirty two battalions and fifty-eight squadrons, also complete: thus the whole French army in Flanders amounted to above eighty thousand fighting men.

There still remained on the banks of the Rhine and Moselle seventy five battalions and one hundred and forty-six squadrons, exclusive of the army in Italy, thirty thousand militia, the garrisons, the light troops, the Bavarians, the Palatines, and the Hessians. This situation, especially in Flanders, was very different from
what

what it had been the preceding year at the death of cardinal Fleury. The English might then have attacked the French frontiers with advantage; but now they came too late; and the Dutch, who refused to engage with them when this enterprize was easy, now took a share in it when it was become impracticable.

The king chose rather to make the campaign in Flanders than in Alsace, supposing that upon the Rhine the war would be only defensive; whereas every thing was disposed for making it offensive in the Austrian Netherlands.

As it was not known that he had been ready the preceding year to head his army in person, so it was a long time before the public knew that he was to set out for Flanders; with such secrecy did he conduct even those things which are generally preceded by a pompous parade. It is natural for a people, who have been governed eight hundred years by the same family, to love their king; besides, he had only one son, the dauphin, who was not yet married; all these circumstances gave rise to uncommon movements of zeal and affection, mixed with joy and fear, in the breasts of the inhabitants of Paris.

The king reviewed his army in the neighbourhood of Lille, and made some new regulations for the establishing of military discipline; a thing difficult to maintain, and at that time greatly wanted. His aids-de-camp were Messrs. de Meuze, de Richelieu, de Luxemburg, de Boufflers, d'Aumont, d'Ayen, de Soubise, and de Pequigny. The enemy were commanded by general Wade, an old officer, who, like the earl of Stair, had been bred under the duke of Marlborough,

Marlborough, and was well acquainted with every part of Flanders, where he had served a great many campaigns; the English had great expectations from his experience and abilities. The duke of Aremberg, of the house of Ligne, governor of Mons, and grand bailiff of Hainault, had the command of the queen of Hungary's troops. This nobleman had spent great part of his life at the court of France, where his person was extremely liked: his inclination led him to live among the French, and his duty to fight against them. He was trained up under prince Eugene, had served against the Turks and the French, and was not a little instrumental to the success of the battles of Belgrade and Dettingen, in both which he was wounded at the head of his troops.

Count Maurice of Nassau, who commanded the Dutch, was a descendant of the celebrated prince Maurice of Nassau, one of the three brothers to whom the United Provinces were indebted for their liberty and grandeur. This prince dying before he could fulfil the promise of marriage which he had made to his mistress Madame de Mechelin, his posterity were deprived of the honours annexed to his house.

Those three generals had it in their power to oppose the king's designs, had they been united; but the Dutch were temporizing and negotiating. On the one hand, they were strongly pressed by the English to fulfil the treaty of alliance concluded between them in 1678, by which they are mutually bound to declare war, within the space of two months, against any power that should attack either of the two nations: on the other hand, they flattered

tered themselves with keeping the appearances of moderation, even in war itself; and were arming against the king, at the same time that they were afraid of provoking him. In this dilemma they deputed count de Wassenaar to Lewis, a person agreeable to the court of France, where he had been formerly in a public character, and where his frankness and complaisance, with other amiable qualities, had procured him a great many friends. The count used the most respectful and the most insinuating language to the king, desiring protection for his person, and peace for Europe.

The king answered: "The choice, Sir, which the states general have made of you on this occasion, cannot but be very agreeable to me, from the knowledge I have of your personal merit. My whole conduct towards your republic, since my accession to the crown, has been such as should have convinced her how desirous I was to maintain a sincere friendship and perfect correspondence with her.

"I have long and sufficiently made known my inclination to peace; but the more I have delayed to declare war, the less shall I suspend its operations. My ministers will give me an account of the commission with which you are charged,; and after I have communicated it to my allies, I shall let your masters know my ultimate resolutions."

The eighteenth of May the king made himself master of Courtray, a small town, which had an Austrian garrison. The day following, the Dutch ambassador saw him invest Menin, a barrier town, defended by the troops of the republic, to the number of fifteen hundred men.

Menin

Menin was far from being a little paltry town, as some journalists are pleased to call it: on the contrary, it was one of the celebrated Vauban's master-pieces. He built this fortification with some regret, foreseeing that one day we should be obliged to surrender it to strangers, who would enjoy the fruit of French ingenuity.

The king reconnoitred the place several times: he even approached within pistol-shot of the palisade, with marshal Noailles, count d'Argenson, and all his court. The trenches were opened the 29th of May. The king encouraged the pioneers by his liberality, ordering a hundred and fifty louis d'ores to be distributed among those who worked at the attack towards the gates of Ipres, and a hundred to those who worked towards the gate of Lille. At the assault commanded by prince Clermont, they carried all the works with the utmost rapidity; and they drained the inundations made by the besieged. The covert-way was taken the fourth of June; the fifth the town capitulated, and was the first which the king took in person. The commanding officer was permitted to march out with all military honours*.

The king thought proper to demolish the fortifications of this town, in which such great sums had been expended. This was at once shewing an instance of moderation to the states general, by letting them see he did not intend to make use of this fortress against them; and was taking some revenge, and teaching them

* It is diverting enough to hear a Frenchman expatiate on the conquest of Menin, which was scandalously given up, almost without opposition.

to shew a greater respect to France, by demolishing one of their barriers.

The very next day the king caused Ipres to be invested ; and while preparations were making for the siege, he assisted at a *Te Deum* in Lille, such as had never been seen on those frontiers. Three princesses of the blood, whose husbands, brothers, sons, or sons-in-law, were fighting in different places for the king, adorned this ceremony. The duchess of Modena had accompanied her nephew the duke of Chartres into Flanders, along with the duke of Penthièvre, who was on the point of marrying her daughter ; while her husband the duke of Modena was at the head of the Spanish army in Italy. The duchess of Chartres had followed her husband ; and the princess of Conti, whose son was at that time upon the Alps, and whose daughter was married to the duke of Chartres, accompanied those two princesses.

The prince of Clermont, abbot of St. Germain des-Prés, commanded the principal attacks at the siege of Ipres. There had been no instance, since the cardinals de la Valette and de Sourdis, of a person in whom both professions, the gown and the sword, were united. The prince of Clermont had obtained this permission from pope Clement XII. who thought fit that the church should be subordinate to the army in the grandson of the great Condé. They stormed the covert-way of the front of the lower town ; but this action has been censured as premature and too hazardous. The marquis de Beauveau, major-general, marched to the assault at the head of the grenadiers of Bourbonnois and Royal-Comtois, where he received

ceived a wound, which gave him the most excruciating pain, and proved mortal. His death was regretted by all the officers and soldiers, as a person whom they thought capable of commanding one day the armies of France; and lamented by all Paris, as a man of probity and wit: he was one of the most curious antiquarians in Europe, having formed a cabinet of very scarce medals; and was, at that time, the only man of his profession that cultivated this kind of knowledge.

The king ordered rewards to be given to all the officers of grenadiers who had attacked the covert-way, and carried it. Ipres soon capitulated. Every moment was improved; for whilst the king's troops were taking possession of Ipres, the duke of Boufflers reduced fort Knock; and during a visit, which the king made after these expeditions, to the frontier towns, the prince of Clermont laid siege to Furnes, which capitulated the fifth day after opening the trenches.

The allied army beheld the progress of the French, without being able to oppose it. The body of troops commanded by marshal Saxe was so well posted, and so effectually covered the army of the besiegers, that they could not but be certain of success. The allies had no fixed, no determinate plan of operations: those of the French army were all concerted. Marshal Saxe was posted at Courtray, where he was able to prevent any attempt of the enemy, and to facilitate the operations of the besiegers. A numerous train of artillery, which was easily brought from Douay; a regiment of artillery, consisting of near five thousand men, full of officers capable of conducting a siege, and composed of soldiers

diers most of them very able artists ; in short, a very considerable body of engineers, were advantages which could not be enjoyed by nations that had hastily united only to wage war together for a few years. Establishments of this kind must be the fruit of time, and of the constant attention of a powerful monarchy. The French will ever be superior in a war whose operations consist chiefly in sieges.

In the midst of all these successes, advice came that the enemy had passed the Rhine towards Spire, within sight of the French and Bavarians; that Alsace was invaded, and the frontiers of Lorraine exposed. At first, no-body would believe it; but nothing was more certain. Prince Charles, by alarming the French in several places, and making different attempts at one and the same time, at length succeeded on the side where count Seckendorff was posted, who commanded the Bavarians, Palatines, and Hessians.

This passage of the Rhine, which did such honour to prince Charles, was entirely owing to his diligence, and the neglect with which the public voice in France reproached the general of the Bavarian troops. Count Seckendorff was on the other side of the Rhine in the neighbourhood of Philipsburg, covered by that fortress, and able to awe any detachment of the enemy that should present themselves on that side. General Nadaſti advanced towards him, while the other divisions of the Austrian army bordered the river lower down, and kept the French at bay. The Bavarians withdrew, and repassed the Rhine : marshal Coigni was obliged to entrust count Seckendorff to guard the banks

banks of the river towards Germersheim and Rinsabeau : the count undertook to defend them ; and this was the very place where prince Charles passed the Rhine.

A colonel of irregular troops, named Trenk, had succeeded Mentzel, who was killed a few days before : this man advanced softly towards a place that was covered with willows and other aquatic trees, followed by several boats loaded with Pandours, Waradins, and Hussars. He silently reached the other side of the river towards Germersheim : about six thousand men passed in this manner ; and having advanced half a league, at length they met with three Bavarian regiments, whom they defeated, and put to flight. Prince Charles caused a second bridge of boats to be built, over which his troops passed without opposition. Marshal Coigni, being informed of this disaster, dispatched his son and the marquis de Croissi in all haste with a detachment of dragoons. The marquis du Chatelet Lomont followed them with ten battalions of the best regiments : they all arrived at a time when the enemy were forming themselves amidst the morasses ; and had no other resource but their bridges, if they happened to be defeated.

Those three officers pressed general Seckendorff very hard to attack the enemy : they represented to him the important moment, the advantage of situation, and the ardour of the troops. The count at first promised to march, but afterwards changed his opinion : in vain did they insist upon his complying : he answered, that he was better informed than they ; and

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that he must write to the emperor. Upon which he left them, filled with indignation and surprize.

Thus the Austrian army, consisting of sixty thousand men, entered Alsace without the least resistance. In an hour's time prince Charles made himself master of Lauterburg, a post of no great strength, but of the utmost importance. He made general Nadasti advance as far as Weissemburg, an open town, whose garrison was obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war: after this he put a body of ten thousand men into the town, and in the lines around it.

Marshal Coigny, whose army extended along the Rhine, saw that his communication with France was cut off: that Alsace, the country of Metz, and Lorrain, were going to be a prey to the Austrians and Hungarians: in short, there was no other resource left than to cut his way through the enemy, in order to re-enter Alsace, and to cover the country. Having resolved upon this measure, he instantly set out with the greatest part of his army for Weissemburg, just after the enemy had taken possession of it. He attacked them in the town and in the lines. The Austrians defended themselves with great bravery: they fought in the market-places and in the streets, which were strewed with dead bodies; and the engagement lasted six hours. The Bavarians, who had defended the Rhine so ill, repaired their misconduct by their valour: they were principally led on by the count de Mortagne, at that time lieutenant-general in the emperor's service, who received ten musket-shot in his cloaths. The marquis de Montal

headed the French ; and at length they retook Weissemburg and the lines : but they were soon obliged, upon the arrival of the whole Austrian army, to retire towards Hagenau, which they were likewise forced to abandon. Flying parties of the enemy spread terror even to Lorraine, and king Stanislaus was obliged to quit that country with his whole court.

When the king received this news at Dunkirk, he did not hesitate a moment concerning the part he had to take : he resolved to interrupt the course of his victories in Flanders ; and leaving marshal Saxe with forty thousand men to preserve his new acquisitions, he flew himself to the assistance of Alsace.

After having caused marshal Noailles to set out before him, he sent the duke of Harcourt with some troops to guard the streights of Phalsburgh, and prepared to march himself at the head of twenty-six battalions, and three and thirty squadrons. This resolution of his majesty in his first campaign, revived the drooping spirits of the provinces, disheartened by the enemy's passing the Rhine, and still more so by the preceding unlucky campaigns in Germany. The nation's zeal was so much the more excited, as in every thing the king wrote, in his letters ordering *Te Deum* to be sung, in his declarations to foreign persons, in his letters to his family, the desire of peace, and the love of his people, were always his principal topics. This new stile, in an absolute monarch, affected the minds, and at the same time roused the spirits of the nation.

The king took his route by St. Quintin, la Fere, Laon, and Rheims, ordering his troops to march with all expedition, and appointing their rendezvous at Metz. During this march he augmented the soldiers pay and subsistence; an attention which encreased the love of his subjects. He arrived at Metz the fifth of August, and the seventh tidings came of an event which changed the whole face of affairs, obliged prince Charles to repass the Rhine, restored the emperor to his dominions, and reduced the queen of Hungary to a more dangerous situation than any she had yet been in.

One would imagine that this princess had nothing to fear from the king of Prussia, after the peace of Breslau; and especially after a defensive alliance, concluded, the same year as the treaty of Breslau, between that prince and the king of England. But the queen of Hungary, England, Sardinia, Saxony, and Holland, having united against the emperor by the treaty of Worms; the northern powers, and especially Russia, having been strongly solicited to come into this alliance; the progress of the queen of Hungary's arms encreasing daily in Germany; from all these circumstances, it was plain, sooner or later, that the king of Prussia had every thing to fear. At length he determined to renew his engagements with France; the treaty had been signed secretly the fifth of April; and afterwards a strict alliance was concluded at Frankfurt, betwixt the king of France, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector Palatine

time, and the king of Sweden as landgrave of Hesse Cassel. Thus the secret union of Frankfort was a counterpoise to the projects of the union of Worms, and on both sides they exhausted every resource of policy and war.

Marshal Schmettau arrived, on the part of the Prussian monarch, to inform the king of France, that his new ally was marching towards Prague with an army of fourscore thousand men, and that two and twenty thousand Prussians were advanced as far as Moravia. At the same time advice was brought of the fresh progress which the infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti were making in the Alps; but, notwithstanding the scaling of those mountains at Montalban and Villa Franca, and the victories obtained among those precipices, they had not as yet been able to open a passage on that side: they could not advance, for want of subsistence, through those defiles, and over those rocks, where they were obliged to have the cannon dragged by soldiers, the forrage carried on the backs of mules, and to walk, in several places, on the declivity of a mountain, the foot of which was washed by the sea, and where they were exposed to the artillery of the English fleet. Besides, the Genoese had not yet signed their treaty; the negotiations were still depending; so that the thorns of politics retarded the progress of the French arms. They opened themselves, however, a new road on the side of Briançon towards the valley of Suza, and at length they penetrated as far as Chateau Dauphin.

The bailiff de Givri led nine French battalions of the regiments of Poitou, Conti, Sales, Provence, and Brie, betwixt two mountains. The count de Campo Santo† followed him, at the head of the Spaniards, through another defile. Givri scaled a rock in broad day, on which there were two thousand Piedmontese entrenched. The brave Chevert, who was the first that scaled the ramparts of Prague, was likewise one of the first that mounted this rock; but this was a more sanguinary action by far than that of Prague. The assailants had no artillery, and were exposed to the cannon of the Piedmontese. The king of Sardinia was in person behind the intrenchments, animating his troops. The bailiff de Givri was wounded in the very beginning of the action; and the marquis de Villemur, being informed that a passage of equal importance had been just then luckily found out, sent orders for a retreat. Givri obeys; but both the officers and soldiers were too greatly animated to follow his direction. The lieutenant-colonel de Poitou leaps into the first entrenchments; the grenadiers dart themselves one upon the other; and, what is hardly credible, they pass through the embrasures of the enemy's cannon, at the very instant when the pieces, having fired, were recoiling by

† The count de Campo Santo bore this name and title ever since the battle of Campo Santo, where he did surprising feats; his name was his reward, as the name of Bitonto was given to the duke of Montemar after the battle of Bitonto. There is no title more glorious than that of having gained a battle,

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their ordinary motion. The French lost near two thousand men, but not one Piedmontese escaped.

The king of Sardinia, in despair, attempted to throw himself into the midst of the assailants; and it was with difficulty he was withheld. Givri lost his life; colonel Salis and the marquis de la Carte were killed: the duke de Agenois, and a great many others were wounded: but it cost them a great deal less than they might have expected in such a situation. The count de Campo Santo, who could not reach this narrow and steep defile where this furious engagement was fought, wrote to the marquis de la Mina, general of the Spanish army under Don Philip: "Some opportunities will offer, in which we shall behave as well as the French; for it is impossible to behave better." I commonly transcribe the letters of general-officers, when I find they contain any interesting matter; for which reason I shall insert here what the prince of Conti wrote to the king concerning this action. "It is one of the most glorious and most obstinate engagements that ever was fought: the troops have shewn such valour as surpasses nature. The brigade of Poitou, with monsieur d'Agenois at their head, have gained immortal glory.

"The bravery and presence of mind of M. de Chevert contributed chiefly to the advantage of the day. I recommend M. de Solemi, and the chevalier de Modene, to your Majesty. La Carte is killed: your Majesty, who knows the value of friendship, must be sensible how greatly I am affected with this loss." Let me be permitted to say, that such expressions from a

a prince to a king, are lessons of virtue to the rest of mankind.

While they were taking Chateau Dauphin, they were obliged to force the place known by the name of the Barricadoes. This is a pass of about three fathoms wide, between two mountains which rear their heads to the sky. The king of Sardinia had turned the river of Stura, which waters the valley, into this precipice: the post on the other side of the river was defended by three entrenchments and a covert-way. It was necessary then for the French to make themselves masters of the castle of Demont, which had been built at an immense expence on the top of a rock, that stood by itself in the middle of the valley of Stura, before they could become masters of the Alps, from whence they would have a view of the plains of Piedmont. These barricadoes were forced with great dexterity by the French and Spaniards, the day before the attack of Chateau Dauphin: they took them almost without striking a blow, by putting those who defended them betwixt two fires. It was this extraordinary advantage, called the *day of the barricadoes*, that had induced the marquis de Villemur to order a retreat from before Chateau Dauphin. This general officer and the count de Lautrec having executed the enterprize of the barricadoes with more than ordinary success, as it was not attended with the loss of any of the king's troops, was desirous to spare the effusion of human blood before Chateau Dauphin; because, after forcing the barricadoes, this fortress must fall of itself: but the bravery of the king's troops transported them farther than was expected, and in two days

days time the valley of Stura, defended by the barricadoes, and by Chateau Dauphin, was laid open.

The surmounting of so many obstacles towards Italy, a powerful diversion made in Germany, the king's conquests in Flanders, and his march into Alsace, had removed the public apprehension, when an alarm of another kind threw all France into a consternation.



C H A P. III.

The king's illness. His life is in danger. As soon as he recovers he marches into Germany. He lays siege to Friburg, while the Austrian army, that had penetrated into Alsace, marches back to the relief of Bohemia; and the prince of Conti gains a battle in Italy.

THE very day that *Te Deum* was sung at Metz for the taking of Chateau Dauphin, the king was attacked with some symptoms of a fever; this was on the 8th of August. His illness increasing, turned to a malignant disorder; and the 14th at night his life was thought to be in danger. He had a very strong constitution, hardened by exercise; but the most robust bodies are the soonest overcome by such distempers. The news of the king being in danger spread consternation from town to town, the people flocked from every side of the country about Metz, the roads were filled with men of every age and condition, who by their different reports increased the general inquietude.

The 14th in the evening, the queen received an express from the duke de Gevres, who informed her of the great danger his majesty was in. The queen, the dauphin, and his sisters, and all about them, were in tears; the whole palace and town of Versailles resounded with lamentations. The royal family set out post that very night, without the least preparations. The queen, who was accustomed to give away
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her money in acts of generosity, had not enough about her to defray the expences of her journey: they were therefore obliged to send in the middle of the night to the receiver-general of the finances at Paris for a thousand louis d'ors. The ladies at court followed the queen without a single servant; the stair-cases, the court-yards, and the avenues, were filled with innumerable crowds of people, who followed the queen's coaches at a distance, some with mournful cries, and others in silent consternation. The news was immediately spread through Paris; the people left their beds, and ran up and down the streets, without knowing where they were going; some repaired to the ramparts, where they might see the royal family pass by at a distance; others flock to the churches; there is no longer any distinction of the time of sleep, of waking, or of rest; all Paris is in consternation; the houses of the officers at court are besieged by a continual crowd; the people gather in the public squares, and break out into a general cry, "If he dies, it is for having marched to our assistance."

And indeed his illness was owing to his exposing himself too much, on his march, to the scorching heat of the sun; for the ray that struck him, darted with such violence as to burn his thigh. They represented to themselves what he had done in his first campaign; their concern was not owing to the misfortunes they might have reason to fear; no, they were too much grieved to have any foresight. Their affection deprived them of their understanding; strangers accosted one another and asked questions in church; the priest, as

he was reciting the collect for the king's recovery, mingled his prayer with his tears; and the people answered him with sobs and lamentations. The poor gave charity to the poor, desiring them to *pray for the king*; and these carried the money they received to the foot of the altar. There were some people in Paris who fainted away, and others who were seized with a fit of illness, upon hearing that the king was in danger. The city magistrates appointed couriers, who every three hours brought them tidings of his condition. The superior courts sent to Metz: each had their couriers, who were passing continually to and fro. As they returned to Paris they were stopped upon the road and at the gates, by a multitude of people in tears. The physicians who attended the king sent word every three hours how his majesty did, to satisfy the people, who read those certificates of health with impatience and trembling.

The queen arrived at St. Dizier, where she found her father Stanislaus, king of Poland, who had left the king's apartment the very moment that they despaired of his life. The general concern was then at the greatest height; they thought the king was dead, and the rumour was spread through all the neighbouring towns. But he was treated in a very proper manner by his physicians, to whom such disorders are familiar, and who, joining reason with experience, knew extremely well that the whole consists only in letting nature operate freely; that, when this method does not succeed, we must leave our days to him who has counted

counted them; all the rest being only a false art, which imposes on human weakness.

The queen arrived the 17th, when they began to have hopes again of the king's life. The courier, who brought the news of his recovery, was embraced and almost suffocated by the people; they kissed his horse; they led him about in triumph through all the streets, which resounded with cries of joy, "the king is recovered." Strangers embraced each other; they ran to prostrate themselves in the churches; there was not so much as a company of tradesmen, but gave orders for *Te Deum* to be sung. The king still kept his bed, and was very weak, when they gave him an account of these surprizing transports of joy which had succeeded to such scenes of sorrow. This affected him so much as to draw tears from his eyes; when deriving strength from his sensibility, he raised himself up in his bed, and said, "Oh, what a pleasure it is to be thus beloved! and what have I done to deserve it!"

The first days of his recovery were distinguished by new advantages obtained by his arms in Italy. The prince of Conti, after having forced the barricadoes of the defiles of Stura, which seemed impenetrable, and after the taking of Chateau Dauphin, luckily reached the mountain of Demont: here he took every entrenchment, and at length reduced twelve hundred men, who defended this last fortress of the Alps, to surrender at discretion.

This news pleased the king, and comforted him in his recovery. Though he had been at the point of death, yet he never lost sight of
the

the interest of his people. Marshal Noailles at that time had the chief command of the army in Alsace, reinforced by the troops from Flanders, which the king's illness hindered him from conducting in person. Before that misfortune, this prince intended to give battle to prince Charles, who had sent his flying parties as far as Lorrain: and notwithstanding the troops had been retarded in their march, his attention was still taken up with the expectation of an engagement; so that when he thought himself in danger of dying, he said to count d'Argenson, who never stirred from his pillow during the whole time of his illness: "Tell marshal Noailles from me, that while they were carrying Lewis XIII. to the grave, the prince of Condé obtained a victory." But marshal Noailles could only fall upon the rear of prince Charles's army, which was retiring in good order, and cut off about eighteen hundred men. In this skirmish, which cost France but two hundred men, the chevalier d'Orleans, grand prior of France, and M. de Fremur were dangerously wounded.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine in spite of the French forces, repassed it, almost without any loss, within sight of a superior army. The king of Prussia complained most bitterly against their letting an enemy escape, who was coming to wreak their vengeance upon him. Here indeed they missed a lucky opportunity. The king's illness had retarded the march of the troops; besides, they must have passed through a difficult morass to attack prince Charles, who had taken all his precautions, secured his bridges, and contrived every

every thing that could facilitate his retreat, in-
somuch that he did not lose a single magazine.
Having therefore repassed the Rhine with fifty
thousand men complete, he marched towards
the Danube and the Elbe with incredible ex-
pedition; and, after having penetrated into
France as far as the gates of Strasburg, he ha-
stened to deliver Bohemia a second time. The
king of Prussia advanced towards Prague, and
invested it the 4th of September: and it is
somewhat remarkable, that general Ogilvi, who
defended the town with fifteen thousand men,
ten days after surrendered himself and his gar-
rison prisoners of war. This was the same go-
vernor who gave up the town in less time in
1741, when it was stormed by the French.

An army of fifteen thousand Austrians being
thus made prisoners of war at the taking of
the capital of Bohemia, the remainder of the
kingdom being subdued a few days after, Mo-
ravia invaded at the same time, the French
army returning to Germany, and other suc-
cesses attending their arms in Italy: in such a
situation one would have imagined that the
grand European quarrel was on the point of
being decided in favour of the emperor. This
prince was preparing to return to Munich, as
soon as he could receive intelligence that the
road was left open, by prince Charles's re-
passing the frontiers of Bavaria in his march to
the assistance of Bohemia. The landgrave of
Hesse Cassel, having acceded to the union of
Frankfort, had already three thousand men in
the pay of the king of France, and was to
furnish him with six thousand more. The
elector Palatine was always of that party.

The

The elector of Saxony, who had been in the first alliance against the queen of Hungary, might now renew it ; and to this he was strongly solicited by the king of Prussia, who promised him six circles in Bohemia. But as he kept two for himself, those of Konigsgratz and Leutmeritz, by his treaty with France, there was very little left for the emperor : and this was a new partition of the territories of the house of Austria. He offered a principality in the empire to count Bruhl, prime minister of Saxony ; at the same time he promised father Quarini, the queen of Poland's confessor, the emperor's nomination to a cardinal's dignity ; and among the pleasures of his successes he reckoned he should enjoy that of seeing a Jesuit introduced into the sacred college by a protestant prince. The appearances were favourable when prince Charles was yet in Alsace, and the king of France in full march to attack him with superior forces.

The king's sickness, as we have observed, disconcerted this project, which one would have imagined impossible to miss ; though indeed its success seemed to be only retarded. Prince Charles's army was likely to diminish very much in his precipitate march towards Bohemia : and scarce had the Austrians quitted Bavaria, when the king gave orders for the siege of Friburg, the bulwark of Upper Austria, which marshal Coigni invested the thirtieth of October.

The king's physicians all advised him not to expose himself to the unwholesome air of that province, after so dangerous an illness, but to return to Versailles. He did not mind their advice,

advice, being determined to finish the campaign. While he was at Strasburg, where his reception was one of the most magnificent ceremonies ever beheld, the marquis de Bissi arrived from Italy with the news of a victory. The infant Don Philip and the prince of Conti had laid siege to Coni*: and the king of Sardinia, with a superior army, attacked them in their lines. Nothing could be better concerted than this prince's enterprize: it was on one of those occasions where it is good policy to hazard a battle. If he won the day, the French had few resources, and their retreat would have been attended with difficulty: if he lost it, the town was still able to hold out in this advanced season, and he had a very safe retreat. The disposition of his army was one of the most judicious ever known; for having less cavalry by one half than the besiegers, and more infantry by half, he made his attack in such a manner, that his infantry was to have the whole advantage of the ground, and his cavalry was not at all to suffer. And yet he was beaten †; the French and Spaniards, notwithstanding

* Coni is a town of Piedmont, situated between the Geez and the Stura, at the foot of the Alps. It is populous, commercial, and opulent, and equally strong by the nature of its situation, its works, and its citadel.

† He maintained the battle without flinching till night; when finding it impracticable to face the enemy's intrenchments, he retired in good order to his camp at Murasso. He afterwards threw a reinforcement of men, and a supply of provisions, into Coni, which enabled Baron Leutrum, the governor, to hold out the place till the approach of winter, when the chevalier de Soto entered the place with a reinforcement of six hundred fresh men. The besiegers were

standing the national jealousies which used constantly to rise upon the cessation of danger, fought with all the harmony of allies who support each other, and with the emulation of rivals that are desirous of setting a mutual example. The king of Sardinia lost near five thousand men, and the field of battle; the Spaniards lost only nine hundred; the French had twelve hundred killed and wounded. Among the latter were the marquis de Senneterre, the marquis de la Force who died of his wounds, the chevalier de Chauvelin, and the chevalier de Chabannes: the prince of Conti, who commanded as a general and fought as a soldier, had his cuirass pierced through with two shot, and two horses killed under him. Of this he made no mention to the king; but he enlarged a good deal on the wounds of messieurs de Senneterre, de la Force, and de Chauvelin, on the signal services of monsieur de Courten, on those of messieurs du Caylus, de Choiseul, de Beaupré, and of all those who had behaved gallantly: desiring they should be particularly rewarded. Among the prodigious number of officers, who deserved the commendations of the prince of Conti, he took particular notice in his letters of messieurs de Montmorenci, d'Aginois, de Stainville, of the marquis de Maillebois, quarter-master general, and of M. de Chauvelin, major general of the army. This history would be only one continued list of names, was I to recite all the

were no sooner informed of this incident than they abandoned their enterprize, and marched back to Demont, leaving their sick and wounded to the mercy of the Piedmontese.

brave

brave actions, which, becoming common from their great number, are continually lost in the croud.

This new victory was likewise one of those which are productive of losses, without being attended with any real advantages to the victors. In a little time, the rigor of the season, the great quantity of snow, the inundation of the Stura, and the overflowing of the torrents, were of more service to the king of Sardinia, than the gaining the battle of Coni was to Don Philip and to the prince of Conti. They were obliged to raise the siege, and to repass the mountains, after they had weakened their army. It is generally the fate of those who fight towards the Alps, and have not the master of Piedmont on their side, to lose their armies even by their victories.

CHAP. IV.

The siege of Friburg continued. State of affairs in Germany and Italy.

IN this wet season the king was before Friburg. Of all the sieges he had made, this was the most painful and the most dangerous. The French were obliged to turn the channel of the river of Treisslau, and to open a new bed for it of two thousand six hundred fathom; but no sooner was this work completed, than a dyke broke, and they were obliged to begin again. The besiegers were exposed to the fire of the castle of Friburg, and obliged at the same time to drain two arms of the river. The bridges erected on the new channel were damaged by the waters, but the French repaired them again by night; the next day they marched up to the covert-way, where the ground was all undermined, and they were exposed to an incessant fire from the enemy. Five hundred grenadiers were killed or wounded; and two whole companies perished by the springing of the mines. This attack was commanded by the marquis de Brun, lieutenant-general, with the duke de Randan, and M. de Courtomer, major-generals, and M. de Berville, brigadier. The duke d'Ayen was there as the king's aid de camp; and count Lowendahl, who would also be at the siege as a volunteer, was wounded on the head with a musket-shot. This foreigner was a native of Denmark, and had been in the Russian service: it was he that took

Ockzacow

Ockzakow from the Turks *. He spoke almost all the European languages, was perfectly acquainted with the different courts, their genius, the character of the people, and their different methods of fighting; however, he preferred the service of France, where from his reputation he was immediately received as lieutenant-general.

The besiegers were not the least discouraged, but carried the greatest part of the covert-way, and the day following they made themselves entirely masters of it, notwithstanding the bombs, patteringoes, and grenadoes, with which the enemy incessantly annoyed them. There were sixteen engineers at those attacks, who were all wounded: the prince of Soubise had his arm broke by a stone; which as soon as the king heard, he visited him several times, and saw his wounds dressed. This sympathy in their sovereign encouraged the troops; there was not one of them but forgot the extreme hardships of the siege, and generously ventured his life. Their ardour was redoubled, when they followed the duke de Chartres, the first prince of the blood, to the trenches and to the attacks. General Damnitz, governor of Friburg, did not hang out the white flag till the 6th of November, after a siege of two months †.

* The reduction of Ockzakow was chiefly, if not entirely owing to the gallantry of our countryman general Keith, who commanded the attack in person; and notwithstanding a dangerous wound in his thigh, mounted the breach, and with his own hand planted the Russian standard on the ramparts of the place.

† The defence of this place redounded greatly to the honour of Damnitz, who had been bred a dancing-master.

Count d'Argenson drew up the articles of capitulation, which facilitated the taking of the citadel of Friburg. It was stipulated, as a favour granted from the king to general Damnitz, that he should have leave to retire with his garrison, his sick and wounded, into the citadel. The governor did not perceive, till after he had signed the capitulation, that this permission would prove fatal to him, that the citadel could not hold such a number of men, that they would be crowded upon one another, and more exposed to the enemy's cannon, and, in short, that his sick must infallibly perish: he therefore begged of them not to grant him so dangerous a favour; but the permission was then become an obligation. A suspension of arms was however granted for twenty days; at the expiration of which term the citadel was besieged, and taken in seven days. The king used the same policy at Friburg as at Menin; he demolished the fortifications of the town, neither wanting to keep possession of it, nor to run the hazard of its being retaken some day by the Austrians, and proving a thorn in his side. This was one of those towns which Lewis XIV. had taken and fortified, and which he afterwards was obliged to surrender. It is true, that, according to the plan so often defeated, Friburg and Upper Austria were to be given to the Bavarian emperor: but it was then foreseen that he would not keep possession of this country. The king indeed was master of all Brisgau: the prince of Clermont, on his side, was advanced as far as Constance: and the emperor at length had the pleasure of returning to Munich. In Italy affairs had taken a favourable turn, though they
advanced

advanced but slowly. The prince of Conti demolished the fortifications of Demont, after he had taken it by storm. The king of Naples was pursuing prince Lobkowitz through the pope's territories. In Bohemia great matters were expected from the diversion made by the king of Prussia; but they were disappointed; fortune changed sides again, as she had often done during this war, and prince Charles drove the Prussians out of Bohemia, as he had made the French fly before him in 1742 and 1743. The Prussians committed the very same mistakes, and made the same kind of retreats, as they had reproached the French armies with: they successively evacuated the different posts which led to Prague, and at length they were obliged to evacuate Prague itself.

Prince Charles, after having passed the Rhine within sight of the French army, passed the Elbe the same year within sight of the king of Prussia. He followed him even into Silesia, and his flying parties advanced as far as the gates of Breslau. At length it became a question, whether the queen, who seemed to be undone in the month of June, would not recover Silesia in the month of December, the same year; and people were afraid that the emperor, who was but just returned to his desolate capital, should be once more obliged to leave it.

CHAP. V.

The king of Poland, elector of Saxony, declares in favour of Maria Teresa, against whom he had joined in the beginning of the war. Affairs are more perplexed than ever in Italy. The king of Naples surprised at Velletri, in the neighbourhood of Rome.

THE Austrians indulged themselves in these hopes from a new change in their affairs, which indeed was not one of the least revolutions in the whole war; namely, the step then taken by the king of Poland, elector of Saxony. This same prince, who at first had joined the king of Prussia against the queen of Hungary, was then entering into an alliance with this princess against Prussia, and had already furnished her with about twenty thousand men. In pursuing this measure he did not intend to declare war against king Frederic, but only to assist the queen, just as the states general had joined with her against France, without declaring war. It did not appear that the elector of Saxony could have any great interest in making the queen of Hungary and the new house of Austria more powerful; nay, it seemed strange that he should chuse rather to aggrandize that house, than to raise himself upon its ruins; but a particular pique betwixt him and the king of Prussia, the powerful negociations of England, the apprehension of the rising grandeur of the house of Brandenburg, and the expectation of humbling it, produced a total alteration of maxims in the court of Dresden.

The king of Prussia had scarce set his hand to his treaty in April 1744 with France and the emperor, when the king of Poland signed his agreement privately with the queen of Hungary in the month of May: he promised to assist her with thirty thousand men; and the queen yielded to him a part of Silesia, which she hoped to be able to recover, and to which that prince pretended some antient rights, as all the German princes have some pretensions or other to the territories of their neighbours. England paid him a subsidy of a hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling every year, so long as he continued to defend the queen of Hungary. If it was a matter of surprize, that a king of Poland and elector of Saxony should be reduced to accept of this money, it was a much greater surprize that England should be able to give it, when she had granted this very year five hundred thousand pounds to the queen of Hungary, two hundred thousand pounds to the king of Sardinia, and at the same time she paid a subsidy of twenty-two thousand pounds to the elector of Cologne, for permitting the enemies of the emperor his brother to raise troops against him in the territories of Cologn, Munster, and Osnabruck: to such a low pitch was this unfortunate emperor reduced! The passage of prince Charles had struck the borders of the Rhine with terror and amazement; and the English gold did the rest. At this conjuncture the Austrians, assisted by their new allies the Saxons, menaced Silesia: they likewise threatened French Flanders with English and Dutch succours.

The allied army in Flanders exceeded that which the king left under the command of marshal Saxe by twenty thousand men. This general employed all those resources of war which are entirely independent of fortune, and even of the bravery of troops. To encamp and decamp at proper opportunities ; to cover our own country ; to maintain an army at the enemy's expence ; to remove upon their ground when they advance into yours, and thereby to oblige them to march back ; in short, to baffle superior strength by skill ; this is what is looked upon as one of the master-pieces of the military art ; and this marshal Saxe did from the beginning of August to the month of November *

The quarrel about the Austrian succession was every day growing more obstinate, the emperor's fate more uncertain, the respective interests more complicate, while the successes of each party were generally counterpoised by those of the opposite side.

France had on her side in Germany, the emperor, the king of Prussia, the landgrave of

* The army of the allies amounted to ninety thousand effective men, and there was nothing to obstruct their march to Paris, which might have been performed in three days, except the small body commanded by count de Saxe, which did not exceed five and twenty or thirty thousand at most ; these too he was obliged to secure by double intrenchments. The English general Wade was superannuated : his partner in command, the duke d'Artemberg, is said to have been unwilling to give umbrage to the French king, great part of his fortune lying within the territory of Liffé, where they were now encamped. The Dutch were averse to any bold enterprize ; and the train of artillery was retarded by some fatality.

Hesse Cassel, and the elector Palatine by the treaty of Frankfort : but the Prussians were then busy in defending themselves. Hesse was always ready to sell troops to England, as well as to France. The Palatinate was a country that rather wanted protection than was capable of giving assistance ; and, besides, a great part of its territories had been pillaged by the enemy. Thus Austria was still the predominant power in Germany, especially having the succours of Saxony and of the Dutch, with the troops and subsidies of Great Britain. The rest of the empire still neuter, though a great part were well affected to the house of Austria, in all their memorials complained of this civil war which laid waste their country.

The truth is, that the calamities which follow war had ruined a great many ; yet, on the other hand, it is no less true, that this war really enriched Germany, while it seemed in appearance to ruin it. The French and English money, which was scattered among them with such profusion, remained in the hands of the Germans : Frankfort especially, so long the residence of the imperial court, of such a number of ministers, princes, and generals, had made immense profits ; Dresden, which had furnished provisions a long time to the French and Austrian armies in their turn, had thereby enriched itself ; and, upon the whole, this war had rendered Germany more opulent, and consequently must, sooner or later, render it more powerful. It was not so in regard to Italy, which, moreover, cannot form, for any considerable time, a powerful body like Germany. France had not sent to the Alps more than forty-two bat-

talions, and thirty-three squadrons, which, considering the ordinary deficiency in the troops, did not compose above a body of twenty-six thousand men. The infant's army was very near this number at the beginning of the campaign; and both of them, far from enriching a foreign country, drew their whole subsistence from the provinces of France. With regard to the pope's territories, on which prince Lobkowitz was then encamped with thirty thousand men, they were rather ravaged than made rich. This party of Italy was going to become a bloody scene in this vast military theatre, which extended from the Danube to the Tiber.

The queen of Hungary's armies were very near making a conquest of the kingdom of Naples towards the months of March, April, and May, 1744; and, had it not been for the prudent conduct of count Gages, they would certainly have done it. This general finding that his army was weakened, and he could have no recruits from Spain, incorporated Neapolitans into his old regiments, and these new troops grew inured to discipline: at length, by temporizing, he obliged prince Lobkowitz, who perceived his army also wasting away, to retire from Abruzzo towards Rome.

This city had beheld, since the month of July, an engagement in her neighbourhood betwixt the Austrian and Neapolitan armies. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were at Velletri, antiently the capital of the Volsci, and now the residence of the dean of the sacred college. The king of the two Sicilies was lodged in the palace of Ginetti, which is reckoned a structure of magnificence and taste.

Prince

Prince Lobkowitz made the same attempt upon Velletri, as prince Eugene had done upon Cremona in 1702; for history is no more than a series of events repeated with some variety. Six thousand Austrians entered Velletri in the middle of the night: the main guard were slain: those who resisted were cut in pieces; and those who made no resistance were made prisoners: in short, terror and alarm were spread every-where. The king of Naples and the duke of Modena were very near being taken; the marquis de l'Hospital, ambassador from France to the court of Naples, awakes at the noise, runs to the king, and saves him; no sooner had the marquis quitted his house, when it was plundered by the enemy. The king, followed by the duke of Modena and the ambassador, puts himself at the head of his troops without the town; the Austrians break into the houses; general Novati enters the palace of the duke of Modena, where he finds M. Sabatini, that prince's minister, who had been formerly in the same regiment with himself. "Is it not true," said this minister to him, "that you grant me my life, and will content yourself with making me your prisoner." While they were renewing their former acquaintance, the very same thing happened as at Cremona; the Walloon guards, a regiment of Irish and another of Swiss, repulsed the Austrians, strewed the streets with dead bodies, and retook the town. M. Sabatini, seeing this revolution from his window, said to the Austrian general; "'Tis I now that grant you your life, and 'tis you that are my prisoner." A few days after, prince Lobkowitz was obliged to retreat towards

Rome, whither he was pursued by the king of Naples. The former marched towards one gate of the city, and the latter towards the other : they both passed the Tiber within sight of the people of Rome, who from the ramparts enjoyed the spectacle of the two armies. The king was received at Rome under the name of the count of Puzzuolo : his guards stood with their drawn swords in the streets, while their master was kissing the pope's toe. The two armies continued the war in the territory of Rome, whose inhabitants thanked heaven that the ravage extended no farther than their fields.

Upon the whole, we find that Italy was, from the beginning, the chief aim of the court of Spain ; that Germany was the main object of the conduct of the court of France ; and that on both sides the success was still extremely dubious.

C H A P. VI.

Death of the emperor Charles VII. The war becomes more violent than ever.

IMMEDIATELY after the taking of Friburg, the king returned to Paris, where he was received as the avenger of his country, and as a father whom they had been afraid of losing. He remained three days in his capital, to shew himself to the inhabitants, who wanted no other return for their zeal than the pleasure of beholding him, and this was what he could not in gratitude refuse : he dined in the Hotel de Ville, whose square was adorned with those magnificent decorations which make us wish for more durable monuments : he was served at table, according to custom, by the provost of the merchants, and the dauphin by the first *Echevin*.

On this occasion it was observed, that the inscriptions of the Hotel de Ville, the triumphal arches, and illuminated figures, with which the town was adorned, were in Latin ; though, indeed, these interpreters of the people's joy ought to be such as they can understand. In Germany, England, and the North, they pique themselves for making inscriptions and devices in French, which ought to be a hint to our nation to shew the same honour to our language as is paid it by foreigners.

The king, at his return from the campaign, had no minister of foreign affairs, having been his own minister at the army. To fill this

place, he chose successively two men who had no thoughts of it. The first was M. de Ville-neuve, who, during his embassy to the Ottoman Port, had negotiated a peace between the Turks and the last emperor of the house of Austria: he was old and infirm: he had been always reckoned a wise man; a character which he still maintained by his sensibility of his present condition: having no ambition to deceive himself, or to imagine he had strength above his age, he refused the employment. The second was the marquis d'Argenson, the elder brother of the secretary of war. By this favour the king surprised the two brothers.

The only inducement the king had for giving away a place, which, according to the maxims of common policy in most courts of Europe, seems to require less virtue than cunning, was the character the marquis had of being an honest man. These two ministers were descended from one of the most antient houses of Touraine, in which the dignities of the long robe have for some years been joined to the antient honours of the sword. Their father, who had been keeper of the seals, and minister of the finances, was a genius equal either to the command of an army, or directing the police of a state; a man of piercing wit, great intrepidity, and unwearied assiduity; one who would unravel the most knotty affairs; a declared enemy to trivial forms, which little minds are so fond of; in short, a man superior to party, fear, or interest. At the time the government wanted money, he paid back an hundred thousand crowns into the royal treasury, which were his right as minister of the finances; and when he acted

acted thus, he was not rich, and had a numerous family. This action, which the king was acquainted with, contributed greatly to the promotion of his sons.

One of the first affairs that came before the minister of state, was an adventure in which there was rather a violation of the law of nations, of the privileges of ambassadors, and of the constitutions of the empire, than any exercise of the right of war.

The king, still true to his engagements with the emperor, had sent marshal Belleisle, with full powers from himself and from the emperor, to Munich, and from thence to Cassel and Silesia. He was coming from Munich, the imperial residence, with the chevalier his brother: they had been at Cassel, and were continuing their journey, without any distrust, through a country where the king of Prussia has several post-houses, which, by agreement among the princes of Germany, have been always looked upon as neuter and inviolable. While the marshal and his brother were changing horses at one of those post-houses, in a borough called Elbingrode, belonging to the elector of Hanover, they were arrested and ill used by an Hanoverian messenger, and soon after removed to England. The duke of Belleisle was a prince of the empire, and in this quality this arrest might have been considered as a violation of the privileges of the college of princes. In former times, emperors would have punished such an indignity; but any insult might have been offered to Charles VII; all he could do was to complain.

The French ministers laid claim at the same time to the privileges of ambassadors, and to every right of war. If marshal Belleisle was considered as a prince of the empire, and as a minister of the court of France, going to the Imperial and Prussian courts; as those two courts were not at war with Hanover, his person was undoubtedly sacred: if, on the other hand, he was looked upon as a general, and as a marshal of France, the king offered to ransom him and his brother. Pursuant to the cartel settled at Frankfort the 18th of June, 1743, between France and England, the ransom of a marshal of France was rated at fifty thousand livres. The minister of king George II. eluded these pressing arguments by an evasion, which was a new affront: he declared that he looked upon Messieurs de Belleisle as prisoners of state: they were treated with the greatest politeness, according to the maxim of most of the European courts, who soften the iniquity of politics, and the cruelty of war, by external appearances of humanity.

The emperor Charles VII. despised and disregarded in the empire, having no other support but the king of Prussia, pursued by prince Charles, and apprehensive lest the queen of Hungary should again compel him to quit his capital, seeing himself the continual sport of fortune, and oppressed by maladies which were encreased by his vexations, sunk at length under the weight: he died at Munich at the age of forty-seven years and a half, leaving this lesson to the world, that the highest degree of human grandeur may lead to the utmost pitch of infelicity: he had not been unhappy till
after

after his elevation to the imperial throne ; and nature from that time proved even more unkind to him than fortune : a complication of acute disorders filled his days with bitterness, and brought him to the grave. He had both the gout and the stone : upon opening his body, they found his lungs, his liver, and his stomach mortified, with stones in his kidneys, and a polypus in his heart. It was concluded, that for some time he must have lived in continual pain.

The body of this unfortunate prince was laid in state, dressed after the old Spanish mode, according to the regulation of Charles V. though there has never been a Spanish emperor since that prince ; and Charles VII. had no manner of relation to that nation. He was buried according to the imperial ceremonies ; and, with all that parade of vanity and human misery, they carried the globe of the world before him, who, during his short reign, was not even possessed of a small unhappy province. They gave him the title of Invincible in the rescripts published by the young elector his son, a title by custom annexed to the imperial dignity, and which only served to remind the world of the misfortunes of him that possessed it.

His brother, the elector of Cologne, would never defend his cause ; not but that this elector, who was bishop and prince of Munster, Paderborn, and Osnabruck, might have raised an army ; but then to have a good one required great preparations ; he must have laid up money, have had officers regularly trained, and soldiers properly disciplined ; but all this he wanted. He had always foreseen that Austria

would resume the superiority, which indeed was the reason of his neutrality during this whole war: this occasioned great complaints against him; but the event justified the conduct he was obliged to observe.

It was then believed that, as the cause of the war no longer subsisted, peace would be restored to Europe: they could not offer the empire to the son of Charles VII. who was then only seventeen years of age; they flattered themselves in Germany, that the queen of Hungary would seek for peace, as the surest means of, at length, placing her husband, the grand duke, upon the imperial throne: but she would obtain this throne, and also continue the war. The English ministry, who gave the law to their allies, because they gave them money, supplying, at the same time, the queen of Hungary, the king of Poland, and the king of Sardinia, thought they should be losers by a treaty, and gainers by protracting the war: they had no difficulty to inspire Maria Theresa with the same confidence, so as to flatter herself that she should be able to beat both France and Prussia. The passage of the Rhine and of the Elbe, in one campaign, had doubled her courage. The king of France, on the other hand, would not abandon either his son-in-law the infant Don Philip, in Italy; or the young elector of Bavaria, in Germany; or the king of Prussia, who was returned to his old alliance.

This general war continued, because it was begun: the object of it was now no longer the same as in the beginning: it was one of those maladies whose symptoms alter when they grow
inve-

inveterate. Flanders had been respected as a neutral country before the year 1744, but was now become the principal theatre of war; and Germany was considered by France rather as a field of politics than of military operations. The court of France cast an eye upon the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as a proper person for the imperial crown. He was not only qualified to aspire to this dignity, but he might likewise render it subservient to the enriching his family with a part of the Austrian inheritance, which he had at first attempted to acquire by the sword. At least, by detaching him from his new alliance with Austria, there was a probability of giving a greater superiority to the king of Prussia, and of compelling the queen of Hungary to accept of terms of peace. But the Saxon minister chose rather to see his master an ally than an enemy of the court of Vienna: the king of Poland might have had the imperial crown, but he would not accept of it.

This refusal of the elector of Saxony, which appeared so astonishing to Europe, did not at all surprize those who were acquainted with his court, and with the state of his affairs. They persuaded him, that he would find it very difficult to keep the crown of Poland, if he accepted of the empire, and that the republic of Poland would be afraid of having too powerful a chief. They represented to him that he would run the risque of losing a throne, which he might secure to his posterity: and that, after all, he was not sure of carrying his point, in competition with the great duke of Tuscany. The example of the elector

elector of Bavaria had convinced him how difficult it is for a prince, who is not of himself very powerful, to sustain the weight of the Imperial crown; and that a grandeur, not founded on its own strength, is oftentimes rather a humiliation. In short, this prince, whether he was not strong enough, or whether he was restrained by the treaties of Vienna, Dresden, and Warsaw, which had connected him with the queen of Hungary and with England; instead of pretending to the empire, entered into a more intimate union with the queen, in order to place the imperial crown on her husband's head, and to give every thing to those to whom at first he would have granted nothing.

France had therefore no other resource left than that of arms, and patiently to expect her fate, together with the decision of so many different interests, which had so often changed, and whose different mutations had kept Europe in continual alarm.

Maximilian Joseph, the young elector of Bavaria, was the third from father to son whose rights had been maintained by France: they had restored his grandfather to his dominions, obtained the imperial crown for his father, and now made a fresh effort to support this young prince. Six thousand Hessians in French pay, three thousand Palatines, and thirteen battalions of German troops, which have been a long time in the French service, had joined the Bavarian forces, which were still maintained by the king. To render these succours effectual, the Bavarians ought to have done their best to defend themselves: but it was
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their fate to be always beaten by the Austrians. They defended the entrance of their country so very ill, that, in the beginning of April, the elector of Bavaria was obliged to quit that same capital from which his father had been so often expelled.

This country had been ravaged to such a degree, that it was not able to supply forage to the French troops who were coming to the elector's assistance. The Hessians were mercenaries, who, though they would accept of French money, did not care to fight. The 10th of April, general Braun declared to count Segur, commander in chief of the French troops in Bavaria, that he would not go to meet the enemy, and that all he could do was to wait for them. M. de Segur found himself deserted by the very people he was come to assist; and he could not rely on the Hessians, who had shewn such backwardness.

To complete the disgrace of the French, count Seckendorff, who still commanded the Bavarian army, corresponded with Austria, and was negotiating a secret accommodation, whereby he surrendered the house of Bavaria to the discretion of the queen of Hungary, and defeated every thing that had been done by France. One of the motives of this general's discontent, was that the French had lately refused him twenty-four thousand German florins, which he still demanded, notwithstanding the immense sums the king had remitted him for the payment of the Bavarian troops. He had even taken the emperor Charles VIth's plate in pledge, at the time that he commanded his army; and after he returned it to the electoral family,

family, he complained that they did not pay him the remainder of a sum of money which was still due. Every body knows, that this man, after having been long in the service of the house of Austria, was confined by the last emperor of that family; and that upon the death of that prince he quitted the queen of Hungary for the house of Bavaria: now human nature is so constituted, that those who often change masters are seldom heartily attached to any party. The 24th of March he wrote to marshal Thoring, a Bavarian general, these very words: "The happy success with which they flatter themselves upon the Rhine, will not save Bavaria; this country must be doomed to utter destruction, if means be not found of saving it by some kind of accommodation, cost what it will."

The count de Segur and M. de Chavigni, the king's plenipotentiaries in Bavaria, were but too well informed of his secret designs; they plainly perceived from the motions of the Bavarian army, that the king's troops were to be left exposed in a country, where the very inhabitants, whom they had defended during the space of four years, were become their enemies.

Things being thus unhappily situated, count Segur, who had only six thousand foot and twelve hundred horse, French and Palatines, was attacked by an army of twelve thousand Austrians, within a few leagues of Donavert, near a little town called Pfaffenhoven. All he had to do in this situation was to save the king's troops, and the military chest; for this end he posted his men so well, by covering
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them with a wood, and gaining an eminence, that they maintained a most unequal and most obstinate fight, without being thrown into disorder. The French alone lost about two thousand men, killed and wounded: the Palatines, who were less exposed, had very few killed, but one of their battalions were made prisoners of war. The marquis de Rupelmonde, major-general of the French forces, kept the enemy in play a long time in the rear, but was killed at length with a musket-ball on the field of battle. He had only his aid-de-camp near him when he received the wound. "Let me die, said he; run and tell M. de Segur that he takes care of the rear." We cannot too much lament the death of this young man, who, besides every military talent, was possessed of a philosophic turn of mind, and of other agreeable qualities which rendered his company infinitely valuable to his friends. He was the only heir of a family long distinguished in Flanders; the hope and consolation of a mother, who for many years had been the darling of the court of France, and who now only lived for this son, on whom she doated. The marquis de Crussol, who was entrusted with the command of the rear, and the chevalier de la Marck, behaved with such prudence and intrepidity, that the enemy could not refuse them their commendations, and were rewarded by the prince. The little army retired to Donavert in good order, without being ever broke; and killed a great many more of the enemy than they themselves had lost.

All this while the young elector of Bavaria was at Augsburg. Had his council agreed to have joined his troops to those which were only fighting his battles, he might still have kept the balance even. The king was defending his cause on all sides: marshal Maillebois, at the head of a hundred and one battalions, and sixty-two squadrons, with ten independent companies, was driving an Austrian army, commanded by the duke of Aremberg, beyond the river Lhon, and even menaced the electorate of Hanover: the king of Prussia kept prince Charles employed: in short, the king of France himself was upon the point of making a most powerful diversion in Flanders. But all these considerations were superseded by count Sckendorff's party; they prevailed on the young elector to sign preliminaries, by which he made himself dependent on Austria; while the queen of Hungary was left in possession of his strongest towns, Ingolstadt, Scharding, and Branau, till the conclusion of a definitive treaty: he likewise promised his vote at the first diet of election to the grand duke, and thereby placed over his own head the very person whom the present conjuncture had rendered the most dangerous enemy of the house of Bavaria. The six thousand Hessians who were in this army declared themselves neuter; but notwithstanding their neutrality, they were disarmed at Augsburg, after which they passed from French into English pay. The Palatines were soon obliged to embrace a neutrality. This revolution, so lucky to the queen of Hungary, did this service at least to France, that
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it saved her the men and the treasure of which she had been so lavish in favour of the house of Bavaria, and freed her from the burden of mercenary troops, which generally cost a great deal more than their service is worth. The young elector's council might excuse this treaty by the experience of past, and the apprehension of future misfortunes: but how could they justify a secret article by which the elector engaged to lend troops to the queen of Hungary, and, like the rest, to receive English pay? Little did the king of France expect, when he put the elector Charles Albert on the Imperial throne, that in two years time the Bavarians would serve among his enemy's troops.

While the king lost one ally, who was only a burden to him, he still preserved another, who was of infinite use. The king of Prussia was the terror of the Austrians: prince Charles could hardly face him in the field.

The resolution taken by Lewis XV. was to act upon the defensive in Germany, and upon the offensive in Flanders and Italy: and thereby he answered every purpose. His army upon the Rhine employed the Austrians, and prevented them from falling upon his ally the king of Prussia, with too great a superiority of forces. He had already sent marshal Maillebois from Germany into Italy: and the prince of Conti was entrusted with the management of the war upon the Rhine, a war of quite a different nature from that which he had conducted in the Alps.

The king undertook in person to finish the conquests, which he had interrupted the preceding:

ceding year. He had just married the dauphin to the second infanta in Spain, in the month of February; and this young prince, who had not yet completed his sixteenth year, prepared to set out the beginning of May along with his father.

Before the king's departure, marshal Saxe went to take upon him the command of the army in Flanders, which was to consist of an hundred and six battalions and an hundred and seventy-two squadrons complete, with seventeen independent companies.



C H A P. VII.

Siege of Tournay. Battle of Fontenoy.

MARSHAL Saxe having made several marches, which kept the enemy in suspense, and seemed sometimes to threaten Aeth, and sometimes Mons, all of a sudden sat down before Tournay, and invested it the 25th of April; while the allied army of the English, Austrians, Hanoverians, and Dutch, were not able to prevent his operations. Tournay was the strongest place of the whole barrier: the town and citadel were one of Vauban's masterpieces; for there was not a place of any strength in Flanders, whose fortifications had not been built by Lewis XIV.

The people of Tournay were fond of the French government, not so much because their town is part of the antient patrimony of the kings of France, as out of regard to their own advantage: they preferred the French magnificence, which enriches a country, to the Dutch œconomy, which keeps it low. But the inclination of the inhabitants is seldom regarded in fortified towns: they are no way concerned either in the attack or in the defence of those places: they are transferred from one sovereign to another by capitulations, which are made for them, without asking their advice.

In the beginning of the siege of Tournay happened one of those events, in which the inevitable fatality which determines life and death, appeared, as it were, in the most conspicuous characters.

characters. The count de Talleyrand, colonel of the regiment of Normandy, had mounted the trenches under the orders of the duke de Biron: here a cavalier * was erected, near which they had placed a cask of gun-powder. In the night the duke de Biron laid himself down upon a bear-skin near M. de Talleyrand, when he recollected that he had promised to spend part of the night with M. de Meuze: he resolves to go, notwithstanding that M. de Talleyrand did all he could to dissuade him. No sooner was he gone, than a soldier trying the prime of his fusil, a spark fell upon the cask of gun-powder, and instantly the cavalier flew up into the air, carrying with it M. de Talleyrand, with twenty-four soldiers, whose mangled limbs were dispersed on every side: part of the body of M. de Talleyrand was thrown to the distance of above thirty fathom. But an accident of this kind, though never so fatal, is confounded in time of war in the multitude of human calamities, which, from our being too much surrounded by them, escape our attention. The garrison of Tournay, beholding this unlucky accident, insulted the French, reviling them with the most injurious language; upon which a few companies of grenadiers, unable to contain their indignation, answered them, not by opprobrious speeches, but by leaping out of the trenches, and running upon the glacis of the covert-way, though the regular approaches for attack it were not yet finished: they descended without order, without preparation, or even without officers, upon the covert-way, notwith-

* A kind of high platform to plant great guns upon.

standing

standing the fire of the enemy's artillery and their small shot, and maintained themselves boldly till the round came by, though exposed on every side. The duke de Biron, who commanded the trenches, hearing of this action, which the nature of the provocation, and the ardour of the troops, rendered in some measure excusable, immediately orders gabions to be brought, makes epaulements, and lodges those brave fellows on the covert-way, which they had so resolutely carried.

As soon as the states-general were informed that Tournay was in danger, they sent word to the commander of the troops, that he must venture a battle to relieve the town. Notwithstanding the circumspection of those republicans, they were the first of the allies at that time who took vigorous resolutions.

The fifth of May the enemy advanced to Cambron, within seven leagues of Tournay. The king set out the 6th from Paris, with the dauphin; the king was attended by his aids-de-camp, and the dauphin by his minions.

The inhabitants of Paris, who had been so near losing the king the foregoing year, felt a return of their pain, upon seeing both the father and the son set out for Flanders, to expose themselves to the uncertain issue of a battle. The French had made no entrenchments as yet before Tournay in the lines of circumvallation: they had no army of observation; nor were the twenty battalions and forty squadrons, which had been draughted from the army commanded by the prince of Conti, as yet arrived.

But notwithstanding the uneasiness they were under at Paris, it must be allowed that the king's
army

army was considerably superior to that of the allies. In several printed relations, it is said to have been weaker. Historical exactness obliges me to acknowledge that it was stronger by sixty battalions and eighty-two squadrons; for the French had a hundred and sixty battalions, reckoning the militia, and a hundred and seventy-two squadrons; whereas the allies had only forty-six battalions and ninety squadrons.

True it is, that the day of the engagement the French did not avail themselves intirely of this advantage. Part of the troops were not yet arrived; there was also a necessity for leaving some to guard the trenches of Tournay, and for the bridges of communication: but still the superiority of numbers were certainly on the side of France. And it is not less true, that this advantage was not of any consequence in so confined a ground as that of the field of battle; besides, it happens very seldom that victory is owing to numbers. The chief strength of the enemy's army consisted in twenty battalions and twenty-six squadrons of English, under the young duke of Cumberland, who, in company with the king his father, had gained the battle of Dettingen. The English were joined by five battalions and sixteen squadrons of Hanoverian troops. The prince of Waldeck, of the same age very near as the duke of Cumberland, like him full of ardour, and impatient to signalize himself, was at the head of the Dutch forces, consisting of forty squadrons and twenty-six battalions. In this army the Austrians had only eight squadrons: the allies were fighting their cause in Flanders, a country that has been long defended by the arms and treasure of England

land and Holland. But at the head of this small number of Austrians was old general Konigseg, who had commanded against the Turks in Hungary, and against the French in Italy and in Germany: it was intended that his years and experience should be a check to the youthful ardour of the duke of Cumberland, and of prince Waldeck. The whole allied army was upwards of fifty thousand combatants.

The king left about eighteen thousand men before Tournay, who were posted at gradual distances from the field of battle, besides six thousand to guard the bridges on the Scheld, and the communications. The army was commanded by a general in whom they had the greatest confidence. Count Saxe had made the art of war his constant study, even in time of peace: besides a profound theory, he had great practical knowledge: in short, vigilance, secrecy, the art of knowing properly when to postpone, and when to execute a project, to see things at one glance, presence of mind and foresight, were abilities allowed him by the consent of all military people. But at that time this general was wasting away with a lingering disorder, and almost at death's door, when he left Paris. The author of these memoirs happening to meet him before he set out for Flanders, could not forbear asking him, how he could think of taking the field in that feeble condition? the marshal answered: "It is not time now to think of living, but of departing."

The 6th of May the king arrived at Douay: just as he was going to bed, he received a courier from the marshal, who informed him that

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the enemy's army was approaching, and that they should be quickly in sight of each other. "Gentlemen," said the king to his aid-de-camps and his officers, "there shall be no time lost; I set out to-morrow morning at five o'clock; but do not disturb the dauphin."

The next day the king arrived at Pont-a-Chin near the Scheld, within reach of the trenches of Tournay. The dauphin, who had been apprized, was there in time, and attended the king, when he went to reconnoitre the ground designed for the field of battle. The whole army, upon seeing the king and the dauphin, made the air resound with acclamations of joy. The enemy spent the 10th and the night of the 11th in making their last dispositions. Never did the king express greater cheerfulness than the evening before the engagement. The conversation turned upon the battles at which the kings of France had been present: the king said, that since the battle of Poitiers, there had not been any king of France who had his son with him in an engagement; that none of them had ever gained a single victory over the English; and he hoped to be the first.

The day the battle was fought, he waked the first: at four o'clock he himself awakened count d'Argenson, secretary at war, who that very instant sent to marshal Saxe to know his last orders. They found the marshal in a wicker vehicle, which served him as a bed; he was carried about in it, when his strength came to be so exhausted as he could no longer ride on horseback. The king and the dauphin had already passed the bridge of Calonne. The
marshal

marshal told the officer sent by count d'Argenson, that the king's guards must come forward, for he had fixed their post in the reserve with the carabineers, as a sure resource. This was a new method of posting troops, whom the enemy consider as the flower of an army. But he added, that the guards should not be ordered to advance, till the king and the dauphin had repassed the bridge. The marshal, as a foreigner, was very sensible how much less it became him than any other general, to expose two such precious lives to the uncertain issue of a battle. The officer, to whom he had made these answers, was loth to repeat them to the king; but this prince, apprized of the marshal's directions, said, "Let my guards advance this very moment; for I will not repass the bridge." Soon after he went and took post beyond the place called *The Justice of our Lady in the Wood*. For his guard he would have only a squadron of an hundred and twenty men of the company of Charôt, one gendarm, a light horseman, and a musketeer. Marshal Noailles kept near his majesty, as did also the count d'Argenson; the aid-de-camps were the same as the preceding year. The duke de Villeroi was also about his person, as captain of the guards; and the dauphin had his attendants near him.

The king and the dauphin's retinue, which composed a numerous troop, were followed by a multitude of persons of all ranks, whom curiosity had brought to this place, some of whom were mounted even on the tops of trees to behold the spectacle of a bloody engagement.

The assistance of engraving is absolutely necessary to a person that has a mind to form to himself a clear and distinct image of this action. The antients, who were strangers to this art, could leave us but imperfect notions of the situation and motion of their armies; but to have an adequate knowledge of such a day, requires researches still more difficult. No one officer can see every thing; a great many behold with eyes of prepossession, and there are some that are very short-sighted. There is a good deal in having consulted the papers of the war-office, and especially in getting instruction from the generals and the aid-de-camps; but it is requisite, moreover, to speak to the commanding officers of the different corps, and to compare their relations, in order to mention only those facts in which they agree.

All these precautions have I taken for the obtaining a thorough information of the detail of a battle, of which even the least particulars must be interesting to the whole nation*. Casting an eye upon the plan, you may perceive at one glance the disposition of the two armies, You will see Antoin pretty near the Scheld, within nine hundred fathom of the bridge of Calonne, the way that the king and the dau-

* Notwithstanding M. Voltaire's boasted accuracy in the relation of this battle, it appears on further information that he is mistaken in many essential particulars. The disappointment of the allies was entirely owing to the failure of the left-wing in the attack on the village of Fontenoy, and the cavalry's forbearing to advance to the support of the infantry; who, by the way, never formed themselves into that imaginary column described by the French writer, with no other view probably than to tarnish the honour of marshal Saxe, and compliment the rival French officers.

phin came. The village of Fontenoy is within eight hundred fathom of Antoin; from thence, drawing towards the north, is a piece of ground four hundred and fifty fathom broad, betwixt the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this plan you see the dispositions of the brigades, the generals that commanded them, with what art they prepared against the efforts of the enemy near the Scheld and Antoin, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy, in those villages lined with troops and artillery, on the ground which separates Fontenoy from the woods of Barri, and finally on the left towards Remecroix, where the enemy might advance by making the compass of the woods.

The general had made dispositions both for a victory and a defeat. The bridge of Calonne lined with cannon, strengthened with entrenchments, and defended by a battalion of guards, another of Swifs, and three of militia, was to facilitate the retreat of the king and of the dauphin, in case of any unlucky accident. The remainder of the army was to have filed off at the same time over the other bridges on the Lower Scheld in the neighbourhood of Tournay.

Notwithstanding all these measures, so well concerted as to support each other without the least clashing, there happened one mistake, which, had it not been rectified, might have occasioned the loss of the day. The evening preceding the battle, it was told the general, that there was a hollow way, deep and impassable, which extended, without discontinuance, from Antoin to Fontenoy, and would secure the army on that side. Weak as he was, he reconnoitred a part of this hollow way himself; and

they assured him that the remainder was still more inaccessible. He made his dispositions accordingly; but this ground, which was very deep near Fontenoy and Anton, was quite level betwixt those two villages. This circumstance, so trivial in other cases, was here of the utmost consequence; for the army might have been taken in flank. The marshal having been better informed by the quarter-master, M. de Cremille, caused three redoubts to be hastily erected in this same spot betwixt the villages. Marshal Noailles directed the works in the night, and joined Fontenoy to the first redoubt by a redan of earth; the three redoubts were furnished with three batteries of cannon, one of eight pieces, the other two of four; they were called the redoubts of Bettens, from being defended by the Swiss regiment of Bettens, with that of Diesbach. Besides these precautions, they had likewise planted six sixteen pounders on this side the Scheld, to gall the troops that should attack the village of Antoin.

We must particularly observe, that there was a piece of ground of about four hundred and fifty fathom, which had a gentle ascent betwixt the woods of Barry and Fontenoy. As the enemy might penetrate this way, the general took care to erect, at the verge of the woods of Barry, a strong redoubt, where the guns were fixed in embrasures; here the marquis de Chambona commanded a battalion of the regiment of Eu. The cannon of this redoubt, with those which were planted to the left-side of Fontenoy, formed a cross-fire sufficient, one would imagine, to stop the efforts of the most intrepid enemy.

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Had the English attempted to pass through the wood of Barri, they would have met with another redoubt, furnished with cannon : if they made a greater circuit, they had entrenchments to force, and must have been exposed to the fire of two batteries on the high road leading to Leuze. Thus did marshal Saxe make the most advantage of the ground on every side.

With respect to the position of the troops, beginning from the bridge of Vaux, which after the battle was called the bridge of Calonne, there was no other part left naked. The count de la March and de Lorges were intrusted with the post of Antoin ; where were six battalions of Piedmont and Biron, with six cannon at the head of those regiments.

The marquis de Crillon was posted with his regiment hard by the redoubt nearest Antoin ; on the left he had dragoons to support him.

The village of Fontenoy was committed to the care of the count de la Vauguion, who had under him the son of the marquis de Meuze-Choiseul, with the regiment of Dauphin, of which this young man, who is since dead, was colonel. The duke de Biron, lieutenant-general, was at the head of the king's regiment, which he then commanded, close to the village of Fontenoy. On his left was the viscount d'Aubeterre, and the regiment of his name.

Very near upon the same line the general had placed four battalions of French guards, two of Swifs, and the regiment of Courtin on the ground extending from Fontenoy to the wood of Barri.

About two hundred fathom behind them were fifty-two squadrons of horse : the duke de Harcourt, the count d'Estrees, and the count de Penthievre, were lieutenant-generals of this first line. M. de Clermont-Gallerande, du Cheila, and d'Apcher, commanded the second ; and between these lines of calalry, in the morning the general placed the regiments of la Couronne, Hainault, Soissons, and Royal.

On the left was the Irish brigade, under the command of my lord Clare, in a little plain of about one hundred paces. Further on was the regiment of Vaisseaux, of which the marquis de Guerchi was then colonel : betwixt these brigades were M. de Clermont-Tonnerre, and the prince de Pons, of the house of Lorraine, at the head of the brigade of cavalry of Royal-Roussillon.

The king's household and the carabineers were in the corps de reserve. This was a new method practised by marshal Saxe, and recommended by the chevalier Folard, to secrete from the enemy's view those troops which are most famed for bravery, against whom they generally direct the flower of their forces.

These dispositions being all made, or upon the point of being made, they waited in silence for the break of day. At four in the morning marshal Saxe, attended by his aid-de-camps, and by the principal officers, went to visit all the posts. The Dutch, who were already forming, kept continually firing at these officers ; which the marshal perceiving, said, " Gentlemen, there will be use for your lives to-day : " he made them dismount, and walked a long time through this hollow way, of which
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we have already made mention. The fatigue exhausted his strength and increased his illness; finding himself grow weaker, he got into his wicker vehicle again, where he rested for some little time. At break of day count d'Argenson went to see whether the artillery of the redoubts and villages was in good order, and whether the field pieces were all arrived. They were to have a hundred pieces of cannon, and they had only sixty. Here the presence and directions of the minister were necessary: he gave orders for them to bring the forty pieces that were wanting; but in the tumult and hurry, almost unavoidable on such an occasion, they forgot to bring the number of balls which such artillery required. The field-pieces were four-pounders, and drawn by soldiers; the cannon in the villages and redoubts, as also those planted on this side the Scheld against the Dutch, were from four to sixteen-pounders. Two battalions belonging to the ordnance were distributed in Antoin, Fontenoy, and the redoubts, under the direction of M. Brocard, lieutenant-general of the artillery.

The enemy had eighty-one cannon, and eight mortars. Their field-pieces were three-pounders; they were what we used formerly to call *fauconets*: their length is about four feet and a half, their ordinary charge is two pounds of powder, and they carry two hundred and fifty fathom at full shot. There were some that carried only balls of a pound and a half. The cannonading began on both sides: marshal Saxe told marshal Noailles, that here the enemy would stop: he supposed them to have formed

a deeper design than they really had, imagining they would do just what he would have done in their place, that they would keep the French army in awe, and in continual alarm; by which means they might retard, and perhaps absolutely prevent the taking of Tournay. And indeed they were posted in such a manner that they could not be attacked with advantage; while at the same time they had it in their power constantly to harraßs the besieging army. This was the opinion of the old general Königseg: but the duke of Cumberland's courage was too warm, and the confidence of the English too great, to listen to advice. At the time they began to cannonade, marshal Noailles was near to Fontenoy, and gave an account to marshal Saxe of the work he had done the beginning of the night, in causing the village of Fontenoy to be joined to the first of the three redoubts betwixt that village and Antoin: he acted here as M. de Saxe's first aid de-camp, thus sacrificing the jealousy of command to the good of the state, and forgetting his own rank to yield the precedency to a general who was not only a foreigner, but younger in commission than himself. Marshal Saxe was perfectly sensible of the real value of this magnanimity; and never was there so perfect a harmony betwixt two men who, from the ordinary weakness of the human heart, should naturally have been at variance.

At this very moment the duke of Grammont came up, when marshal Noailles said to him, "Nephew, we should embrace one another on the day of battle; perhaps we shall not see one another again." Accordingly they embraced
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one another most tenderly ; and then marshal Noailles went to give his majesty an account of the several posts which he had visited.

The duke of Grammont met count Lowendahl, who advanced with him within a very little distance of the first redoubt of the wood of Barri, opposite to an English battery ; here a cannon-ball of three pound weight struck the duke of Grammont's horse, and covered count Lowendahl with blood ; a piece of flesh, which flew off with the shot, fell into his boot : " Have a care, says he to the duke of Grammont, your horse is killed." " And I myself," answered the duke. The upper part of his thigh was shattered by the ball, and he was carried off the field. When M. de Peyronie met him upon the road to Fontenoy, he was dead. The surgeon made a report of it to the king, who cried out with concern : " Ah ! we shall lose a great many more to-day."

The cannonading continued on both sides till eight in the morning with great vivacity, without the enemy's seeming to have formed any settled plan. Towards seven, the English encompassed the whole ground of the village of Fontenoy, and attacked it on every side. They flung bombs into it, one of which fell just before marshal Saxe, who was then speaking to count Lowendahl.

The Dutch afterwards advanced towards Antoin, and the two attacks were equally well supported. The count de Vauguion, who commanded in Fontenoy, with the young count de Meuze under him, constantly repulsed the English. He had made entrenchments in the village, and enjoined the regiment of Dauphin not

to fire but according to his orders. He was well obeyed ; for they did not fire till they were almost muzzle to muzzle, and sure of their mark ; at each discharge they made the air resound with *Vive le Roi*! The count de la Marck, with the count de Lorges, in Antoin, employed the Dutch, both horse and foot. The marquis de Chambonas also repulsed the enemy in the several attacks of the redoubt of Eu. The English presented themselves thrice before Fontenoy, and the Dutch twice before Antoin. At their second attack almost a whole Dutch squadron was swept away by the cannon of Antoin, and only fifteen left ; from that time the Dutch continued to act but very faintly, and at a distance.

The king was at that time with the dauphin, near *the Justice of our Lady in the Wood*, against which the English played very briskly with their cannon. Even the small musket-shot reached thus far ; a domestic of count d'Argenson being wounded on the forehead by a musket-ball, a good distance behind the king.

From this position, which was equally distant from the several corps, the king observed every thing with great attention. He was the first who perceived, that as the enemy attacked Antoin and Fontenoy, and seemed to bend their whole strength on that side, it would be of no use to leave the regiments of Normandy, Auvergne, and Tourraine, towards Ramecroix : he therefore caused Normandy to advance near the Irish, and put Auvergne and Tourraine farther behind. But he did not change this disposition till he had asked the general's advice, entirely solicitous about the success of the day, never
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presuming

presuming on his own opinion, and declaring that he was come to the army for his own, and for his son's instruction.

Then he advanced towards the side of Antoin, at the very time that the Dutch were moving forward to make their second attack : the cannon-balls fell round him and the dauphin ; and an officer named M. d'Arbaud, afterwards colonel, was covered with dirt from the rebounding of a ball. The French have the character of gaiety even in the midst of danger : the king and those about him finding themselves daubed with the dirt thrown up by this shot, fell a-laughing : the king made them pick up the balls, and said to M. de Chabriere, major of artillery, " Send these balls back to the enemy ; I will have nothing belonging to them." He afterwards returned to his former post, and with surprize observed, that most of the balls that were then fired towards the woods of Barri, from the English battery, fell upon the regiment of Royal-Rouffillon, which did not make the least movement, whereby he could form any remark either upon its danger or its losses.

The enemy's attack, till ten or eleven o'clock, was no more than what marshal Saxe had foreseen. They kept firing, to no manner of purpose, upon the villages and the redoubts. Towards ten the duke of Cumberland took the resolution of forcing his way berwixt the redoubt of the woods of Barri and Fontenoy. In this attempt he had a deep hollow way to pass, exposed to the cannon of the redoubt, and on the other side of the hollow way he had the French army to fight. The enterprize seemed temerarious.

rious. The duke took this resolution only because an officer, whose name was Ingoldsfy, whom he commanded to attack the redoubt of Eu, did not execute his orders *. Had he made himself master of that redoubt, he might have easily, and without loss, brought his whole army forward, protected even by the cannon of the redoubt, which he would have turned against the French. But, notwithstanding this disappointment, the English advanced through the hollow way. They passed it almost without disordering their ranks, dragging their cannon through the bye-ways; they formed upon three lines pretty close, each of them four deep, advancing betwixt the batteries of cannon, which galled them most terribly, the ground not above four hundred fathom in breadth. Whole ranks dropped down to the right and left; but they were instantly filled up; and the cannon, which they brought up against Fontenoy and the redoubts, answered the French artillery. Thus they marched boldly on, preceded by six field-pieces, with six more in the middle of their lines.

Opposite to them were four battalions of French guards, with two battalions of Swiss guards at their left, the regiment of Courten to their right, next to them the regiment of Aubeterre, and farther on the king's regiment, which lined Fontenoy the length of the hollow way.

From that part where the French guards were posted, to where the English were forming, was a rising-ground. The

* General Ingoldsfy was tried by a court-martial, and honourably acquitted.

The officers of the French guards said to one another, "We must go and take the English cannon." Accordingly they ascended soon to the top with their grenadiers; but when they got there, how great was their surprize to find a whole army before them! The enemy's cannon and small shot brought very near sixty of them to the ground, and the remainder were obliged to return to their ranks.

In the mean time the English advanced, and this line of infantry, composed of the French and Swiss guards, and of Courten, having upon their right the regiment of Aubeterre, and a battalion of the king's, drew near the enemy: the regiment of English guards was at the distance of fifty paces; Campbell's and the Royal Scotch were the first; Mr. Campbell was their lieutenant-general; lord Albemarle their major-general; and Mr. Churchill, a natural son of the famous duke of Marlborough, their brigadier. The English officers saluted the French, by taking off their hats. The count de Chabannes and the duke de Biron advanced forward, and returned the compliment. Lord Charles Hay *, captain of the English guards, cried out, "Gentlemen of the French guards, give fire."

The count d'Antroche, their lieutenant, and since captain of grenadiers, answered with a loud voice, "Gentlemen, we never fire first; do you begin." Then lord Charles, turning about to his men, gave the word of command, in English, to fire! The English made a run-

* This nobleman's words were these: *Souvenir vous l'affaire de Dettingen.* "Remember the affair of Dettingen."

ning fire ; that is, they fired in platoons, in this manner, that when the front of a battalion, four deep, had fired, another battalion made its discharge, and then a third, while the first were loading again. The line of French infantry did not fire ; it was single, and four deep, the ranks pretty distant, and not at all supported by any other body of infantry : it was impossible but their eyes must have been surpris'd at the depth of the English corps, and their ears stunned with the continual fire. Nineteen officers of the guards were wounded at this first discharge ; Messieurs de Clifton, de Langey, and de la Peyrere, lost their lives ; ninety-five soldiers were killed upon the spot ; two hundred and eighty-five were wounded ; eleven Swiss officers were wounded ; as also one hundred and forty five of their common men, and sixty-four were killed ; colonel de Courten, his lieutenant-colonel, four officers, and seventy-five soldiers dropped down dead ; fourteen officers, and two hundred soldiers, were dangerously wounded. The first rank being thus swept away, the other three looked behind them, and, seeing only some cavalry at the distance of above three hundred fathom, they dispersed. The duke of Grammont, their colonel and first lieutenant-general, whose presence would have encouraged them, was dead ; and M. de Luttaux, second lieutenant-general, did not come up till they were routed. The English, in the mean time, advanced gradually, as if they were performing their exercise : one might see the majors holding their canes upon the soldiers muskets, to make them fire low and straight !

Thus the English pierced beyond Fontenoy
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and the redoubt. This corps, which before was drawn up in three lines *, being now straitened by the nature of the ground, became a long solid column, unshaken from its weight, and still more so from its courage. It advanced towards the regiment of Aubeterre : at the news of this danger M. de Luttaux made all haste from Fontenoy, where he had been dangerously wounded. His aid-de camp begged of him to stay to have his wound dressed. "The king's service," answered M. de Luttaux, "is dearer to me than my life." He advanced with the duke de Biron at the head of the regiment of Aubetterre, led by the colonel of that name ; but, on coming up, he received two mortal wounds : at the same discharge M. de Biron had a horse killed under him ; a hundred soldiers of Aubeterre were killed, and two hundred wounded. The duke de Biron, with the king's regiment under his command, stops the march of the column on its left flank ; upon which the regiment of English guards, detaching itself from the rest, advances some paces towards him, kills three of his captains, wounds fifteen others, and twelve lieutenants ; at the same time two hundred and sixty-six soldiers were killed, and seventy-nine wounded. The regiment de la Couronne, perceiving itself placed a little behind the king's, presents itself to the English column ; but its colonel the duke de Havré, the lieutenant-colonel, all the staff-officers, and, in short, thirty-seven officers are wounded so as to be obliged to quit the

* In the foregoing page he says, it was drawn up four deep, which was not the case ; and as for this column, there was no such manœuvre.

field; and the first rank of the soldiers, to the number of two hundred and sixty, entirely overthrown.

The regiment of Soissonnois, advancing after la Couronne, had fourteen officers wounded, and lost a hundred and thirty soldiers.

The regiment of Royal, which was then with la Couronne, lost more than any other corps at these discharges: six of its officers, one hundred and thirty-six soldiers were killed; thirty-two officers, and five hundred and nine soldiers, were wounded.

It was probable that the English, who were advancing towards the king's regiment, might attack Fontenoy in reverse, while they were cannonading it on the other side, and then the battle would have been inevitably lost. The duke de Biron, having placed some grenadiers in the hollow way which lined Fontenoy, rallied his regiment, and made a brisk discharge upon the English, which obliged them to halt. One might see the king's regiment, with those of la Couronne and Aubeterre, entrenched behind the heaps of their comrades, who were either killed or wounded. In the mean time two battalions of French and Swiss guards were filling off, by different roads, across the lines of cavalry, which were above two hundred fathom behind them. The officers, who rallied them, met M. de Lutteurs, first lieutenant-general of the army, who was returning, betwixt Antoin and Fontenoy. "Ah, gentlemen, said he, do not rally me; I am wounded, and obliged to retire." He died, some time after, in unspeakable torments: before he retired, he said to the soldiers he met belonging to the regiment of guards,

guards, "My friends, go and join your comrades that are guarding the bridge of Calonne." Others hurried through a little bottom, which goes from Barri to *Our Lady in the Wood*, up to the very place where the king had taken post, opposite the Wood of Barri, near la Justice. Their grenadiers, and the remainder of the two battalions, rallied under the count de Chabannes towards the redoubt of Eu, and there stood firm with M. de la Sonne, who formed it into one battalion, of which he took the command, because, though young, he was the oldest captain, the rest having been either killed or wounded.

The English column kept firm and close, and was continually gaining ground. Marshal Saxe, with all the coolness imaginable, seeing how dubious the affair was, sent word to the king by the marquis de Meuze, that he begged of him to repass the bridge along with the Dauphin, and he would do all he could to repair the disorder. "Oh! I am very sure he will do what is proper," answered the king; "but I will stay where I am." This prince was every moment sending his aid-de-camps from brigade to brigade, and from post to post. Each set out with two pages of the stables, whom he sent back successively to the king, and afterwards returned to give an account himself. The order of battle was no longer the same it had been in the beginning: of the first line of cavalry not above the one half was left. The division of count d'Estrées was near Antoin, under the duke of Harcourt, making head with its dragoons and with Crillon against the Dutch, who, it was apprehended, might penetrate on that side,

side, while the English on the other were beginning to be victorious: the other half of this first line, which was naturally the duke of Harcourt's division, remained under the command of the count d'Estrées. This line vigorously attacked the English. M. de Fienne led his regiment, M. de Cernay the Croats, the duke of Fitz-James the regiment called after his name; but little did the efforts of this cavalry avail against a solid body of infantry, so compact, so well disciplined, and so intrepid, whose running fire, regularly supported, must of course disperse all those small detached bodies, which successively presented themselves: besides, it is a known thing, that cavalry alone can very seldom make any impression upon a close and compact infantry. Marshal Saxe was in the midst of this fire: his illness not permitting him to wear a cuirass, he had a kind of buckler made of several folds of stitched taffety, which he carried on his saddle bow: he put on his buckler, and rode up with full speed to give directions for the second line of cavalry to advance against the column. The count de Noailles marched directly with his brigade, composed of the regiment of his name, of which the eldest of the family is always colonel; the only privilege of the kind in France, and granted to the first marshal of the name of Noailles, who raised this regiment at his own expence. The regiment belonging to the duke da Penthièvre made also a part of this brigade. The count de Noailles fell on with great bravery; the marquis de Vignecourt, captain in this regiment, the worthy descendant of a family which has given three grand masters to the order of Malta, rushes with

with his Squadron to attack this column in flank ; but the Squadron was cut in pieces in the midst of the enemy's ranks, except fourteen troopers, who forced their way through with M. de Vignecourt. An English soldier drove his bayonet with such violence into this officer's leg, quite through the boot, that he was obliged to leave both bayonet and fusil : the horse, having received several wounds, ran away with his master ; while the but-end of the musket, trailing on the ground, widened and tore the wound, of which the captain died a little while after. Out of fourteen troopers, who had broke through the column, six remained, who were soon made prisoners ; but the English sent them back the next day, out of regard to their bravery.

The count d'Argenson, son of the secretary at war, charged the enemy with his regiment of Berri, at the same time that the regiment of Fiennes was also advancing. He came on to the attack three times at the head of a single squadron ; and, upon a false report, his father thought him killed. The count de Brionne, the chevalier de Brancas, the marquis de Chabrilant headed and rallied their troops ; but all these corps were repulsed one after the other. The count de Clermont-Tonnere, master de camp of the cavalry, the count de Estrées, and the marquis de Croissi, were every-where : all the general officers were continually riding from brigade to brigade. The regiments of the colonel-general, and Fiennes, with the Croats, suffered greatly ; that of prince Clermont was still more roughly handled, twenty-two of their officers having been wounded, and of the Croats twelve.

twelve. All the staff-officers were in motion: M. de Vaudreuil, major-general of the army, rode every minute from right to left. M. de Puifegur, Messieurs de Saint Sauveur, de Saint Georges, de Mezieres, aid-quarter-masters, were all wounded. The count de Longaunai, aid-major-general, received a wound, of which he died a few days after. It was in these attacks that the chevalier d'Apcher, a lieutenant-general, (whose name is pronounced *d'Aché*) had his foot shattered by a ball. Towards the end of the battle he came to give an account to the king, and spoke a long while to his majesty without expressing the least sign of pain, till at length the violence of the anguish obliged him to retire.

The more the English column advanced the deeper it became, and of course the better able to repair the continual losses which it must have sustained from so many repeated attacks. It still marched on, close and compact, over the bodies of the dead and wounded on both sides, seeming to form one single corps of about sixteen thousand men, though it was then in three divisions.

A great number of troopers were driven back in disorder as far as the very place where the king was posted with his son; so that these two princes were separated by the croud that came tumbling upon them. The king did not change colour: he was concerned, but shewed neither anger nor inquietude. Happening to observe about two hundred troopers scattered behind him towards *Our Lady of the Wood*, he said to a light-horseman, "Go and rally those men in my name, and bring them back." The light-horseman

horseman galloped, and led them back against the enemy. This man, whose name was de Jouy, did not imagine he had done any great feat; the minister enquired after him a long while, to reward him, before he could be found. During this disorder the brigades of the life-guards, who were in reserve, advanced of themselves against the enemy. Here the chevaliers de Suze and de Saumery were mortally wounded. Four squadrons of gendarmes arrived at this very instant from Douay; and, notwithstanding the fatigue of a march of seven leagues, they immediately engaged the enemy: but all these corps were received like the rest, with the same intrepidity, and the same running fire. The young count de Chevrier, a Guidon, was killed; and it happened to be the very same day that he was admitted into his troop. The chevalier de Monaco, son of the duke de Valentinois, had his leg pierced through. M. de Guesclin received a wound on the foot. The carabineers charged the enemy; but had six officers killed, and one and twenty wounded. All these attacks were made without any preparation or agreement, and are what we call irregular charges, in which the greatest bravery can avail nothing against discipline and order.

Marshal Saxe, though extremely weakened with the fatigue, continued still on horseback, riding gently in the midst of the fire: he passed close under the front of the English column, to observe every thing that passed towards the left, near the wood of Barri. There they were going on in the very same manner as towards the right; endeavouring, but in vain, to throw
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the column into disorder. The French regiments presented themselves one after another ; while the English, facing about on every side, properly disposing their cannon, and always firing in divisions, kept up this running and constant fire when they were attacked ; after the attack they remained immoveable, and ceased to fire. The marshal perceiving a French regiment at that time engaged with the enemy, and of which whole ranks dropped down, while the regiment never stirred, asked what corps that was ; they told him, it was the regiment de Vaisseau, commanded by M. de Guerchi ; he then cried out, " Admirable indeed !" Two and thirty officers of this regiment were wounded, and one third of the soldiers killed or wounded. The regiment of Hainault did not suffer less : their colonel was son to the prince de Craon, governor of Tuscany : the father served in the enemy's army, and his sons in the king's. This hopeful youth was killed at the head of his troop ; near him the lieutenant-colonel was mortally wounded ; nineteen officers of this corps were wounded dangerously, and two hundred and sixty soldiers lay dead upon the spot.

The regiment of Normandy advanced ; but they had as many officers and soldiers wounded as that of Hainault : they were headed by their lieutenant-colonel M. de Solenci, whose bravery the king commended on the field of battle, and afterwards rewarded, by making him a brigadier. Some Irish battalions fell next upon the flank of this column : colonel Dillon was killed, fifty-six officers were wounded, and thirteen fell upon the spot.

Marshal

dubious. Marshal Saxe, knowing that the victory, or an intire defeat, depended upon this attempt, thought of preparing a safe retreat, at the same time that he was doing all that lay in his power to obtain the victory. He sent orders to the count de la Marck to evacuate Antoin, and to move towards the bridge of Caillonne, in order to favour this retreat in case of a last disappointment. This order was extremely mortifying to the count de la Marck, who saw the Dutch ready to take possession of Antoin the moment he quitted it, and to turn the king's artillery against his own army. The marshal sent a second order by his aid de camp M. Dailvorde; it was intimated to the count de Lorges, who was made answerable for the execution of it; so that he was obliged to obey. At that time they despaired of the success of the day; but the greatest events depend on the most trivial circumstances, on a mistake, on some unexpected stroke.

Those who were near the king must have imagined the battle was lost, knowing that they had no ball at Fontenoy, that most of those who belonged to the ordnance were killed, that they also wanted ball at the post of M. de Chambonas, and that the village of Antoin was going to be evacuated.

Those who were near the duke of Cumberland must have likewise had a bad opinion of the day, because they still imagined themselves exposed to the cross-fire of Fontenoy and of the redoubt of Barri. They were ignorant that the French were firing only with powder; the Dutch, who could not have been informed of the orders given for evacuating Antoin, did not advance;

advance ; the English horse, which might have completed the disorder into which the French cavalry were thrown by the English column, did not appear ; they could not advance without coming near to Fontenoy or to the redoubt, the fire of which still seemed uniform. Here it will be asked, why the duke of Cumberland did not take care to have that redoubt attacked in the beginning, since he might have turned the cannon that was there against the French army, which would have secured him the victory. This is the very thing he had endeavoured to effect. At eight o'clock in the morning, he ordered brigadier Ingoldsby to enter the woods of Barri with four regiments, in order to make himself master of that post. The brigadier obeyed ; but perceiving the artillery pointed against him, and several battalions who lay flat on their bellies, he went back for cannon. General Campbell promised him some, but this general was mortally wounded at the very beginning of the engagement, with a ball fired from that very redoubt, and the cannon was not ready soon enough. Then the duke of Cumberland, afraid of nothing so much as losing time, had taken the resolution of passing on with his infantry, in defiance of the fire of the redoubt ; and this enterprize, which one would imagine must have proved fatal to him, had hitherto succeeded.

They now held a tumultuous kind of a council around the king, who was pressed by the general, and in the name of France, not to expose his person any longer. At this very instant arrived the duke de Richlieu, lieutenant-general of the army, who served as aid-de-camp to the

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king : he was come from reconnoitring the column and Fontenoy ; he had charged the enemy with the regiment of Vaisseaux, and with the life-guards ; he had also made M. Bellet advance with the gendarmes under his command, and these had stopped the column, which now no longer advanced. Having thus rode about and fought on every side without being wounded, he presents himself quite out of breath, with his sword in his hand, and all covered with dust. " Well, Resce," says marshal Noailles to him (this was a familiar expression used by the marshal) " what news do you bring us, and what is your opinion ?" " My news, says the duke of Richlieu, is, that the victory is ours, if we have a mind ; and my opinion is, that we immediately bring four pieces of cannon to bear against the front of the column : while this artillery throws it into disorder, the king's household and his other troops will surround it. We must fall upon them like foragers, and I'll lay my life that the day is ours." " But Fontenoy, said they, is possessed by the enemy." " I come from thence, said the duke ; it holds out still." " We must see, replied they, whether the marshal has not designed this cannon for some other use." He answered them, " There is no other to make of it." He was convinced himself, and he persuaded the rest. The king was the first who approved of this important proposal, and every body else joined in the opinion. He gave orders to bring up four pieces of cannon immediately : twenty messengers rode away directly on that errand ; when a captain of the regiment of Tourraine, whose name was Issards, aged one and

and twenty, perceived four pieces of cannon which they were carrying back ; he gave notice there of directly, and that very evening he had the cross of St. Lewis.

The king ordered the duke de Pequigni, who has now the title of duke de Chaulnes, to go and see those four pieces pointed : they were designed, they said, to cover the retreat. " We shall make no retreat, said the duke de Chaulnes; the king commands that these four pieces shall give us the victory." Upon which M. de Senneval, lieutenant of artillery, plants them directly opposite to the column. The duke de Richleu gallops full speed in the king's name to give orders to the king's household to march : he communicates this news to M. de Montesson, the commanding officer, who is transported with joy, and immediately puts himself at their head. The prince de Soubise assembles his gendarmes under his command ; the duke de Chaulnes does the same with his light-horse ; they all draw up in order, and march. The four squadrons of gendarmes advancing at the right of the king's household, the horse grenadiers at their head, under their captain M. de Grille ; and the musketeers commanded by M de Jumillac, rush boldly on. The dauphin was advancing with sword in hand to put himself at the head of the king's household ; but they stopped him, telling him that his life was too precious. " Mine is not precious, said he ; it is the general's life that is precious in the day of battle."

In this important moment, the count d'Eu and the duke de Biron at the right, beheld with concern the troops quitting their post at Antoin;

the count de la Marck, their commander, with reluctance obeying. "I will answer, said the duke de Biron, for his disobedience; I am sure the king will approve of it now that there is so great a change in our favour; I answer that marshal Saxe will think it right." The marshal coming up at that very time, was of the duke de Biron's opinion. The general having been informed of the king's resolution, and of the good disposition of the troops, readily acquiesced. He changed opinion when he was obliged to change it. He made the regiment of Piedmont return to Antoin; he moved, notwithstanding his weakness, with great velocity to the right and to the left, and towards the Irish brigade, strictly recommending to all the troops he met upon his way not to make any more irregular charges, but to act in concert.

While he was with the Irish brigade, attended by M. de Lowendahl and lord Clare, the duke de Biron, the count d'Estrées, and the marquis de Croisy, were together on the right, opposite the left flank of the column upon a rising ground: they perceived the Irish and the regiment of Normandy, who were advancing towards the right flank. "Now is the time, said they to one another, for us to advance; the English are beaten." M. de Biron puts himself at the head of the king's regiment; those of Aubeterre and Courten follow him; and all the rest advance under the count d'Estrées. Five squadrons of Penthievre's regiment follow M. de Croisy and his sons; the squadrons of Fitz-James, Noailles, Chabillant, Brancas, and Brionne, advanced with their colonels, though they had received no orders; and it seemed as if

if there was a perfect harmony between their movements, and all that had been done by M. de Richlieu. Never was the king better served than at that very instant : it was the quickest and most unanimous movement. Lord Clare marches up with the Irish ; the regiment of Normandy, the French guards, and a battalion of Swiss advancing higher up towards the redoubt of Eu. All these corps move at the same time ; the Irish commanded by lord Clare, against the front of the column, the guards higher up, under M. the count de Chabannes, their lieutenant-colonel. They were all separated from the English column by a hollow way ; they force through it firing almost muzzle to muzzle, and then fall upon the English with their bayonets fixed on their muskets. M. de Bonnafanse, at that time first captain of the regiment of Normandy, who was afterwards the first that jumped upon the covert-way of Tournay, was now the first of his regiment that broke through the column : but the officers of the French guards had already made an impression. The carabineers betwixt the Irish and the king's household, were then piercing thro' the first ranks ; they were seen to run about and to rally in the midst of the enemy, when the croud and their impetuosity had disordered their ranks. Unluckily they mistook the Irish, who have near the same uniform as the English, for English battalions ; and fell upon them with great fury. The Irish cried out *Vive France*, but in the confusion they could not be heard ; so that some Irish were killed thro' mistake.

The four cannon which the duke of Richlieu had called for, and which the duke de Chaulnes

had levelled within one hundred paces of the column, had already made two discharges which thinned the ranks, and began to shake the front of the enemy's army. All the king's household advanced towards the front of the column, and threw it into disorder. The cavalry pressed it hard upon the left flank; marshal Saxe had recommended to them particularly to bear upon the enemy with the breasts of their horses, and he was well obeyed. The count d'Estrées, the young prince de Brionne, killed some of the enemy themselves in the foremost ranks: the officers of the king's chamber charged pell-mell with the guards and the musketeers. All the pages were there with sword in hand; so that the marquis de Tressau, who commanded the brigade of the king's body guards, said to the king after the battle, "Sire, you sent us pages whom we took for so many officers."

All this time, the duke de Biron held the Dutch troops in play, with the king's regiment and the brigade de Crillon. He had already sent M. de Boisseul, a first page of the great stable, to tell the king that every thing went well on his side, and that he would undertake to give a good account of the enemy. On the other side, the marquis d'Harcourt, son of the duke of that name, came to acquaint the king, in his father's name, that the troops were rallied on every side, and that the victory was sure.

At this very instant arrived the count de Castellane, dispatched by marshal Saxe, to inform the king that the field of battle was recovered. In seven or eight minutes the whole English column was dispersed; general Ponsonby, lord Albemarle's

Albemarle's brother, five colonels, five captains of the guards, and a prodigious number of officers, were slain, The English repass'd the hollow way betwixt Fontenoy and the redoubt in the greatest disorder ; the ground which had been taken up by their column, as well as the hollow way, was strewed with dead and wounded bodies.

We have entered into this long detail concerning the battle of Fontenoy, because its importance deserved it. This engagement determined the fate of the war, paved the way for the conquest of the Low Countries, and served as a counterpoise to all disappointments. The presence of the king and his son, and the danger to which these two princes and France were exposed, greatly increased the importance of this ever-memorable day *.

* After having perused this tedious and confused detail, one is surprized to find M. de Voltaire exclaiming against those historians who take up the reader's time in describing the incidents of battles, from which nothing is to be learned but an imperfect idea of carnage and desolation.

S U P P L E M E N T
T O T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F T H E
W A R of 1741.

Affairs of Genoa in 1746 and 1747.

THE war which began upon the Danube, and almost at the very gates of Vienna, and which at first seemed likely to last only a few months, was, after continuing six years, removed to the southern coasts of France ; and at the same time that the Austrians and Piedmontese, masters of Genoa and of the whole coast, were making preparations to enter Provence, Brittany was likewise menaced by an English fleet.

The design of the enemy, especially the English, was at that time to invade Provence ; to destroy Port L'Orient, and with it the East-India company ; to make themselves masters of Port Louis, which must fall after L'Orient ; to lay

lay Brittany under contribution; to excite the Calvinists towards Rochelle, Languedoc, and Dauphiné, to a revolt; while they were concerting measures to attack the different settlements of France in Asia and America, and depended on making themselves masters of Naples, after they had brought Genoa under the yoke.

These vast expectations were not without some foundation; for the Austrians were masters of Italy, and about this time the English had hardly any more enemies at sea. Indeed the king's campaigns and marshal Saxe's victories made amends for every thing. But the king of Great Britain reckoned that he should soon make the Dutch a warlike power, by obliging them to accept of his son-in-law for their stadtholder; besides, he was then contracting for an entire army of Russians, to stop the progress of the king's army in Flanders.

In this conjuncture Brittany was no more in a posture of defence than Provence. An old officer, who commanded at Port-Louis, wrote word to court: "I discovered, on the 28th of September, a fleet whose number is infinitely increased; but I shall easily withstand these Englishmen." The 2d of October he wrote again: "They have landed at Polduc with three hundred and fifty flat-bottom boats and fifty five men of war: if we had muskets, we should beat them; but the peasants have nothing but pitchforks."

By these letters, it appears to what danger that country was exposed, notwithstanding the confident expressions of an old commander. General Sinclair, with about seven thousand

regular troops *, landed without opposition at the mouth of the little river of Polduc. From thence he advanced to Plemur, and encamped on an eminence which commanded L'Orient and Port Louis. Six days were spent before he cannonaded the town. If the English lost all this time, the French did not employ it better; for those who commanded in the place, and who were able to defend themselves a long time, as they had artillery and twelve thousand militia of Brittany, capitulated the first day of the attack, upon receiving a declaration of general Sinclair, in which, according to custom, it was signified that he would destroy every one that resisted with fire and sword.

Such mistakes, it is said, were committed on this occasion, as nothing, except the conduct of general Sinclair, could surpass. Never was there a stronger instance how greatly the fate of an important enterprize, and of a whole province, depends on a critical minute, on false advice, on a panic, terror, or a mistake. Early in the morning the drums of the militia, who were not as yet perfect in their trade, beat the general. General Sinclair asked the people of the country why they beat the general after capitulation. Answer was made, that the garrison had laid a snare for him by capitulating; for they were going to fall upon him with twelve thousand men. During this conversation the wind changed, and Admiral Lestock made a signal to give him notice of it; upon which Sinclair, afraid of being attacked, and of not having an opportunity of re-embarking his

* He had not above half the number.

men,

men, precipitately quitted his post, and returned to Plemur in some confusion.

In the mean time, those who had made the capitulation came out of the town to make their submission to the English general; but they could hardly believe their eyes, when they found no-body in the camp. In this preposterous manner did the English reembark, just when the French were come to bring them the keys of the town. Ashamed of their bad conduct, they made a descent upon the little island of Quiberon; which was an enterprize as ill contrived, as that of Port L'Orient had been executed; for this being almost a desert island, the taking of it could answer no purpose. In short, this great armament produced nothing but blunders and laughter, whereas every other part of the war was but too serious and too terrible*.

At that time a revolution was carrying on in Genoa, much more important and more sur-

* General Sinclair did all that could be expected. He landed with about three thousand men, in the face of two thousand, assembled to oppose him. He marched ten miles up into the country, invested Port l'Orient, and summoned the place to surrender. Confiding in the skill of his engineers, he caused a small battery to be built, and began to open trenches; but, in the mean time, the garrison of the town was reinforced; the works were improved and augmented; a considerable body of French troops was advancing to the relief of the place. The engineers failed in performing their promise, and repeated messages came from admiral Lestock, importing, that in such an advanced season of the year he could not, and would not, continue with the great ships on the coast of France. In these circumstances, nothing was left for general Sinclair but a retreat, which he executed with the utmost deliberation; and we leave the world to judge whether this expedition was more disgraceful to the French than to the English nation.

prizing than that which had lately alarmed the coast of Brittany.

The Austrians exercised the right of conquest with the utmost rigour. The Genoese having exhausted their resources, and given away all the money of their bank of St. George, to pay sixteen millions of livres, desired to be forgiven the other eight : but the 30th of November, 1746, notice was given them on the part of the empress queen, that they must not only pay the sum, but likewise as much more, for the maintenance of nine regiments quartered in the suburbs of St. Pietro d'Arena, and Bisagno, and in the neighbouring villages. At the publication of these orders, despair seized every inhabitant ; their misery was at the utmost pitch ; their commerce ruined, their credit lost, their bank exhausted, their lands laid waste, their fine country-houses, which embellished the environs of Genoa, plundered, and, in short, the people treated as slaves by the soldiery. They had nothing more to lose but their lives ; and there was not a single Genoese who did not seem determined to lose the last drop of his blood, rather than to bear any longer with so severe and so ignominious a treatment.

The captive Genoese reckoned, among the rest of their disgraces, the loss of the kingdom of Corsica, which had been long in a state of rebellion ; and now they made no doubt but the malecontents would be supported by the victorious arms of Austria. In this chaos of revolutions, Corsica, which pretended to be oppressed by Genoa as Genoa was by the Austrians, rejoiced at the calamity of her masters. This additional affliction affected only the senate :

nate: by losing Corsica they were deprived only of a phantom of authority; but the rest of the Genoese were a prey to those real sorrows with which human misery is attended. Some of the senators privately, and with great address, fomented the desperate resolutions, which the inhabitants seemed disposed to take. It behoved them to act with the greatest circumspection on this occasion; for, in all probability, a hasty and ill-concerted insurrection would have been attended with the destruction of both senate and city. The emissaries of the senate contented themselves with saying to those who seemed to have most credit among the people: "Are you then determined to wait till the Austrians come to cut your throats in the arms of your wives and children, to rob you of the little food you have yet left? Their troops are dispersed without the inclosure of the walls, and only a few left in the city to guard the gates: you are here above forty thousand men able to strike a blow: is it not far preferable to die, than to be spectators of the ruin of your country?" By a thousand such discourses were the minds of the people inflamed; but they did not yet stir, as nobody had dared to set up the standard of liberty. An opportunity soon offered. The Austrians wanted to remove some cannon and mortars out of the arsenal of Genoa for the expedition into Provence, and they obliged the inhabitants to perform this drudgery. The people murmured, but obeyed. An Austrian captain happening to strike an inhabitant, who did not bestir himself sufficiently, this was a signal, at which the people assembled, rose, and armed themselves in a moment with every thing they could lay hold

of, with stones, sticks, swords, muskets, weapons of every kind. The people, who had not the least thoughts of defending the town when the enemy was at a distance, rose up in its defence when it was in the possession of the Austrians.

The marquis de Botta, who was then at St. Pietro d'Arena, imagined that this popular insurrection would subside of itself, and the transient fury soon be succeeded by fear. The next day he only reinforced the guards of the town gates, and sent some detachments into the streets. Upon this the people assembled in greater crowds than the preceding day, and flock to the doge's palace, demanding the arms that were kept there. The doge made no answer; but the domestics pointed out another magazine: the people immediately run and break it open, and arm themselves; about a hundred officers are distributed among the populace: they barricade the streets; and though it was now become necessary to establish some kind of order in the midst of this sudden and furious commotion, yet it did not in the least slacken the popular ardour.

One would think that this and the following days, the consternation which had so long possessed the minds of the Genoese, was transfused into the Austrians. The marquis de Botta was in St. Pietro d'Arena with some regiments, but never once attempted to oppose the people with his regular troops: he suffered the rebels to make themselves masters of the gates of St. Thomas and St. Michael. The senate, as yet dubious whether the people would maintain what they had so bravely begun, sent a deputation

tation to the Austrian general in St. Pietro d'Arena. Botta negotiated when he should have been fighting: he ordered the senators to arm the Genoese troops, whom he had left disarmed in the town, and that they should join the Austrians to fall upon the rebels, as soon as he had made a proper signal. Some of the senators, who were devoted to the enemy, promised to execute his orders: but could it be expected that the majority of the Genoese senate would join with the oppressors of their country to complete its destruction?

The Germans, depending on the correspondence they had in the town, advanced to the gate of Bisagno, through the suburb of that name; but they were received with a volley of cannon and musket-shot. The people of Genoa made an army: the drum was beat in their name, and orders were issued, upon pain of death, to every citizen to make his public appearance in arms, and to repair under the colours of his respective ward. The Germans were attacked at one and the same time in the suburb of Bisagno and in St. Pietro d'Arena. The alarm-bell was rung in all the villages of the vallies; and the peasants assembled, to the number of twenty thousand. A nobleman of the house of Doria, at the head of the people, attacked the marquis of Botta in St. Pietro d'Arena, when the general and his nine regiments were obliged to save themselves by flight. They left four thousand prisoners behind them and above a thousand slain, with all their magazines and equipages, and retired in great disorder to the post of Bocchetta: hither they were pursued by the peasants, who forced them at length

length to quit this post, and to fly as far as Gavi. Thus it was that the Austrians lost Genoa, for having despised and oppressed the people, and for being so simple as to believe that the senate would join with them against the inhabitants, who had taken up arms in defence of that very senate. Europe was surprized to see how a weak people, who had never been bred to arms, and whom neither the inclosure of their rocks, nor the kings of France, Spain, and Naples, had been able to save from the Austrian yoke, had the bravery, unassisted, to break their chains, and to expel their conquerors.

In this commotion a great many violences were committed: the people plundered several houses belonging to the senators suspected of favouring the Austrians. But what was more surprizing in this revolution is, that this very same people, who had four thousand of their conquerors in prison, and had driven away the remainder, did not turn their arms against their masters. It is true, they had chiefs; but these were pointed out by the senate, and none of them were considerable enough to usurp the authority for any time. The people chose thirty-six citizens for their governors; but they added four senators to the number, viz. Grimaldi, Scaglia, Lomellini, and Fornari. These four nobles gave an account of every thing to the senate, who did not seem to concern themselves any longer in the government, though they governed in effect: they disavowed at Vienna the revolution which they were fomenting at Genoa, and for which they apprehended the most dreadful chastisement. Their minister at that
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court declared, that the Genoese nobility had no share in that change which was called a revolt. The court of Vienna behaving still as masters, and fancying they should soon be able to recover Genoa, intimated to this minister, that the senate should instantly pay the eight millions of livres, which was the remaining part of their fine, and thirty millions more for the damage done to their troops; that they should restore all the prisoners, and punish the ringleaders of the revolt. These laws, which a provoked master might have prescribed to impotent and rebellious subjects, served only to confirm the Genoese in the resolution of defending themselves, and in hopes of driving from their territory those whom they had expelled their capital. The four thousand Austrians in the prisons of Genoa, were hostages that quieted their fears.

It is in such times of calamity and despair, that the spirit of patriotism and magnanimity seem to exert themselves with the greatest force; either because those virtues become more conspicuous in the hour of general distress, or rather indeed that the love of our oppressed country revives the whole vigour of the soul, so as to raise human nature above itself. Of this was seen a memorable instance in Augustin Adorno. This brave republican commanded in the town of Savona, which belongs to the territory of the republic. It was besieged by the king of Sardinia; and the senate, having submitted to the Austrians, ordered him to give up the town. He made answer, that he could not obey any other orders than those of a free senate; after which he held out long enough for succours,

succours, but none came. The people of Genoa, though victorious at home, were not sufficiently disciplined to engage in the open field; and France, being obliged to defend Provence, could not spare any troops for her allies on the other side of the Alps. Thus the valour of Augustin Adorno only served to make him prisoner of war, at the very time that Genoa was delivered; but he merited the praises of his country, as well as of the king of Sardinia, to whom he surrendered.

This revolution of Genoa was of great service to Provence. The Austrians, who already possessed one third part of the country, no longer received either provisions or ammunition by the way of Genoa, as in the beginning: and yet they were advanced as far as the river of Argens, with a design of attacking Toulon and Marseilles, assisted by the English fleet.

They soon took the islands of St. Margaret and St. Honorat, which had only a garrison of invalids.

In those islands several state prisoners were confined, who flattered themselves with hopes that the English would set them at liberty; but the commanding officer made so quick a capitulation, that they permitted him to carry off all his prisoners, with other effects belonging to the king, and his little garrison. It is surprising that several public journals should pretend to say, that this commanding officer was the marquis de Dreux, lieutenant general and grand-master of the ceremonies. The mistake is owing to this, that the marquis de Dreux is lord of those islands. The person who commanded there, was an old officer, who was tried
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by a council of war, and condemned to imprisonment, for surrendering so precipitately.

After the taking of those islands, the enemy began the siege of Antibes. It was not an easy matter to stop the progress of an army that had seventy one battalions, eight thousand irregulars, and eight thousand horse. Marshal Belleisle was intrusted with this undertaking.

Upon his arrival he could only be a spectator of the deplorable situation, and of the despondency of the whole province, as well as of the king's troops. He was neither able to hinder the passage of the Var, nor to protect the country occupied by the Austrians, who expected a reinforcement of thirty battalions and sixteen squadrons, with cannon, ammunition, and provisions. The coasts were guarded by a few frightened militia. The troops, under no sort of discipline, took hay and straw by force from the inhabitants; and the mules employed in the service of the army, perished for want of food. The enemy had plundered and laid waste the whole country, from the Var to the river of Argens and the Durance. Their generals permitted their troops to pillage Vence and Grasse for the space of six hours, because these towns had not been expeditious in paying their contributions.

The infant Don Philip and the duke of Modena were at Aix in Provence, where they waited to see what efforts France and Spain would make to extricate themselves from this cruel situation. The supplies were as yet far off; while the dangers and wants were pressing. Marshal Belleisle began with borrowing fifty thousand crowns in his own name, to relieve the

the most urgent necessities. He was obliged to perform the office of intendant, and of commissary of the stores. Then, as fast as the troops came in, he made himself master of different posts, where he stopped the progress of the Austrians. On the one side he covered Castellane on the Verdon, when the Austrians were preparing to take possession of it; and on the other he secured Draguignan and Brignoles.

At length, towards the beginning of January 1747, finding his army increased to sixty battalions and twenty-two squadrons, and being seconded by the marquis de Mina, who furnished him with four or five thousand Spaniards, he looked upon himself as in a condition to attack the enemy. Count Brown, who commanded the Austrians, and the marquis of Ormea, who was at the head of a body of Piedmontese, were a great deal superior to him in forces. But they met with greater difficulties in procuring subsistence for their army. This is an essential point, which frustrates the end of most invasions. Their first defeat began with a post in the neighbourhood of Castellane, from whence a captain of the regiment of Lyonnais, whose name was Daupenet, drove them with sword in hand. They occupied a space of forty leagues; namely, from Sener to St. Tropes. A considerable body was beaten and dislodged from Castellane by the count de Maulevrier, and by the marquis de Taubin, a Spaniard. Another corps were also dislodged, and obliged to repass the river of Argens. Marshal Belleisle, by his winning manner, engaged the Spanish troops to second him in every attempt. The marquis de la Mina joined with him in all
his

his schemes; and this perfect harmony contributed greatly to their common success. The enemy were pursued from post to post, and always with loss. At length the marshal obliged them to repass the Var, and delivered Provence.

There remained now only one difficult enterprize for the king, and this was to relieve Genoa. During the whole war he had been occupied in protecting his allies; first the emperor Charles VII. afterwards the prince of Spain Don Philip, then the pretender to the crown of England, and finally the Genoese; and in the whole course of the war fresh dangers arose from his successes.

Marshal Belleisle had now driven the Austrians and Piedmontese out of Provence: but there was reason to fear that this very enemy, who were strong enough to guard the passage of the Alps, had also sufficient strength to fall upon Genoa, and afterwards upon Naples. Though Genoa had expelled the enemy from her walls, yet she was still blocked up by sea and land. Count Schullemburg succeeded the marquis de Botta, and continually threatened the first inclosure. Admiral Medley took as much care as possible that no succours should enter the harbour. Yet the king of France was continually supplying them. Marshal Belleisle began with sending them twenty thousand louis-dores by eight officers, among whom this sum was equally distributed. He ordered them to throw the money into the sea, in case they should not be so lucky as to escape. The officers arrived with the money, provisions, and soldiers, and especially with great promises. With

With this encouragement the Genoese withstood all the attacks of the Austrians, as well as the proposals of the court of Vienna; for this court had still the assurance to treat with a people, whom so severe a treatment and so glorious a revolution must have rendered ever irreconcilable. The Austrians demanded money of them, when they had none; and, on the contrary, the king of France gave them money.

It was not enough that the French had obliged the Austrians and the Piedmontese to repass the Var; it was also incumbent upon them to pass that river in pursuit of the enemy, to drive them beyond the mountains, to enter Italy once more, and above all things speedily to relieve Genoa. There was no sending any succours to that city but by sea; and these were to steal unknown to the English fleet, which was cruising off that coast. At that time there were but eight ships at Toulon, and these laid up, three frigates and two barks; so that they were able to arm only six gallies, for want of seamen. In the mean time the Austrians, assisted by the Piedmontese, threatened to recover possession of Genoa. Count Schullemburg, nephew of the Venetian general, had reinforced his army with Albanians: these are the ancient Epirots, who are esteemed to be as good soldiers as their ancestors: He had repassed the Bocchetta, and kept Genoa closely blockaded; while the country both to the right and left was given up to the fury of the irregular troops, to plunder and devastation. Genoa was struck with terror, and the consternation produced some secret correspondence with their oppressors: to complete their misery, there was a great division betwixt the senate and the people.

people. The town did not want provisions, but money; they were at the expence of eighteen thousand florins a-day, to maintain the militia who fought in the country, or defended the city. The republic had no regular troops well disciplined, nor any experienced officer: they could expect no succours but by sea, and even these at the hazard of being picked up by the English fleet, as happened to those which had been sent to prince Edward. These succours were expected from France and Spain; and if they did not arrive soon, all was lost.

The king of France had already sent a million of livres to the senate. The gallies were now ordered to set out from Toulon and Marseilles with about six thousand men on board. They put into Corsica and Monaco, by distress of weather, but chiefly to avoid the English fleet. The master of a small vessel belonging to this convoy, who was a foreigner, took this opportunity to commit a treacherous action: He gave notice of the embarkation to the English admiral, who came and fell upon the convoy; but they lost only six small vessels, with about a thousand soldiers. At length the first succours reached Genoa, to the number of about four thousand French, who revived the drooping hopes of the Genoese.

Soon after arrived the duke of Boufflers, to take upon him the command of the troops that were to defend Genoa, and whose number daily increased. The general himself was obliged to take his passage in an open boat, in order to escape admiral Medley's fleet. If the English had been as diligent and artful as they were magnanimous in their undertaking, they would

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have had a proper number of small craft well armed, which would have kept near the shore when their great ships could not, and have rendered it extremely difficult for the French, to send any succours. For want of some such precaution, detachments of French, Spaniards, and Swiss, were successively coming into Genoa from the coast of France; at the same time they were supplied with provisions from the coast of Italy, while the English stood by as mere spectators.

The duke of Boufflers was now at the head of about eight thousand regular troops, in a town which was blocked up, and expected every moment to be besieged. There was very little order among them, not much provisions, and no powder; besides, the heads of the people were not properly subordinate to the senate. The Austrians had still some secret intelligence in the town. Thus the duke of Boufflers had as much difficulty to deal with those whom he was come to defend, as with the enemy. Yet he established order in every quarter; at the same time provisions of all kinds were imported in plenty, by means of a secret consideration given to the captains of the English ships; so greatly do public calamities depend on private interest.

The Austrians had some monks on their side: the same arms were employed against them with greater force. The priests were prevailed upon to refuse absolution to those who should balance a moment between the enemy and their country. An hermit put himself at the head of the militia, whom he encouraged by his enthusiastic declamation, and by his example in fighting: he was
killed

killed in one of those daily skirmishes, and with his last breath exhorted the Genoese to defend their country. The ladies pawned their jewels to supply the expences of the necessary operations.

But of all these encouragements, the most powerful was the valour of the French troops, whom the duke of Boufflers often employed in attacking the enemy in their posts beyond the double inclosure of Genoa. There were many more, the possession of which would have rendered the operations of the siege much easier to the enemy: one amongst the rest on the coast of Riverola, of which the Austrians and Piedmontese made themselves masters, very near the mountain of the Two Brothers, and from whence they were by all means to be dislodged. This action, which was conducted with as much prudence as vigour, revived all their hopes. The count de Lanion distinguished himself on this occasion; as also the chevalier de Chauvelin, who was wounded in the engagement. Here the French lost colonel la Faye, son of the captain of the guards, whose character is so well known in Paris. This young officer had inherited from his father a very high degree of courage with great application to the sciences; and from his uncle he had learnt to improve in the most agreeable parts of polite literature. The author of this narrative, who knew his merit, cannot too much lament his loss.

The Genoese succeeded in almost every one of those little skirmishes, which at that time engrossed the whole attention, and are afterwards swallowed up in the multitude of more important

important events. But what disconcerted all the measures of the Austrians in Italy was the progress marshal Belleisle was making with his army: he had obliged the enemy to raise the siege of Antibes, while his brother retook the isles of St. Margaret within sight of the English fleet: he was master of Nice, Villa Franca, and Ventimiglia; and the king of Sardinia was obliged to recal his troops to defend his own dominions. The Austrians, being obliged to make a stand against Belleisle's army, could not besiege Genoa in form, lest the French should advance; so that the court of Vienna at length gave orders for raising the blockade.

The duke of Boufflers did not long enjoy this happiness and glory: he died of the small-pox the very day the enemy retired. He was son of marshal Boufflers, a general much esteemed under Lewis XIV. a man of honour, and a good subject; and a son who inherited all the amiable qualities of his father.



END of the FOURTEENTH VOLUME.

